

MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

December, 1956

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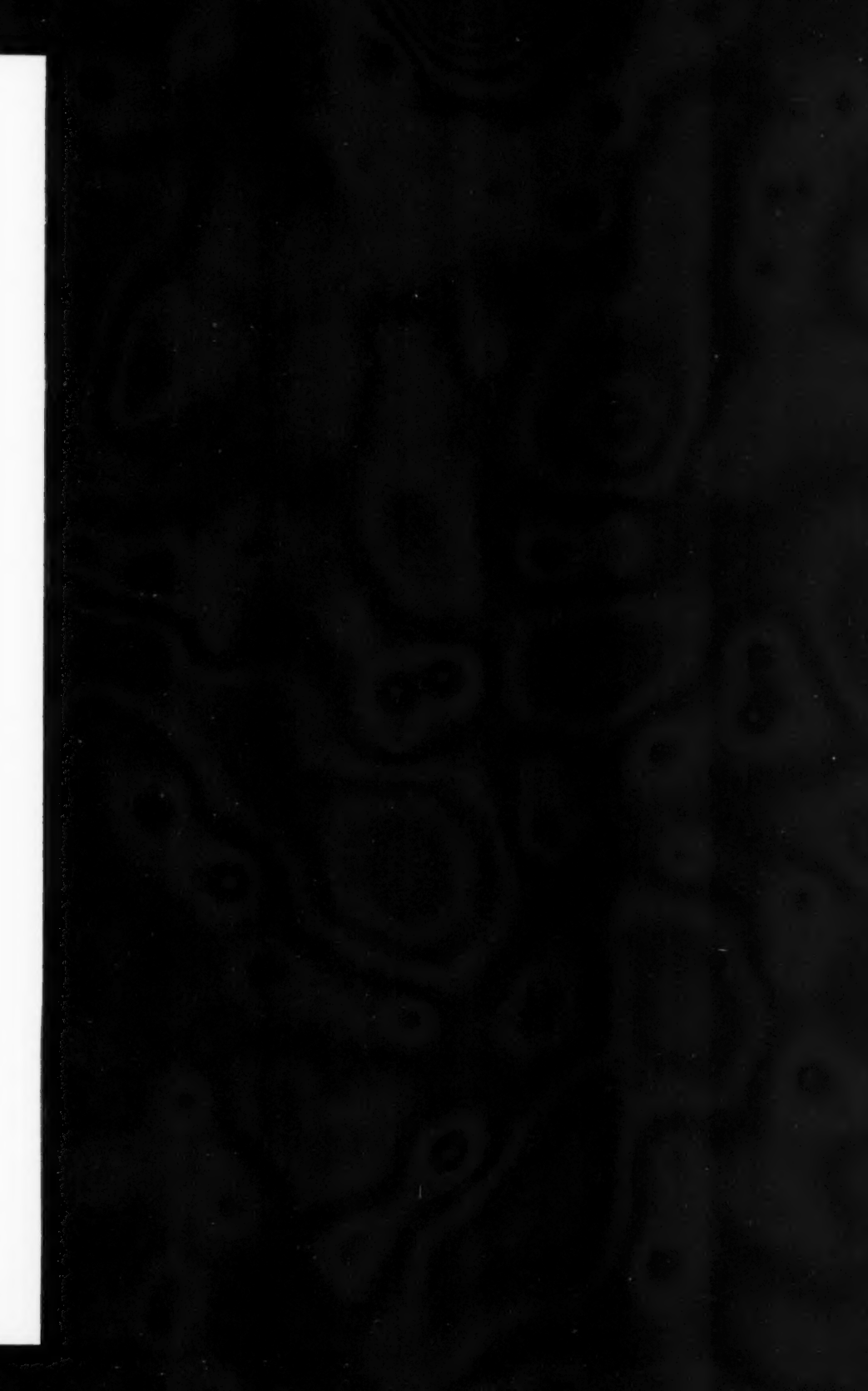
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VOLTAIRE'S PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL THOUGHT

By MERLE L. PERKINS

The intellectual substance behind Voltaire's attack on contemporary institutions and practices has not been adequately described. Sabine reduces it to a belief in transcendent value or type, passionless and independent of history and the evolution of society: "In general French writers [including Voltaire] in the eighteenth century believed as firmly as those of the seventeenth that reason provides an absolute standard by which human conduct and social institutions can be once for all justified or discredited."¹ According to him, too, Voltaire's "onslaught on persecuting Christianity" was for the most part separated from "the cause of popular government, a not very far-sighted policy, since civil liberty was unattainable unless political liberty came with it." In a recent work, Friedrich finds that Voltaire's thinking was based primarily on trust in "right reason," "faith in an enlightened despot," comparable to "the platonic inclination to turn to a 'teachable tyrant.'"² Underlying these related views, representative of comments about Voltaire's social, political, and legal ideas, is the assumption that he was able to be true to his often professed hatred of systems and not have a theoretic basis for his strictures. Supporting this position are his informal, often fragmentary, presentation of principles, his discrepancies and changes of opinion. In spite of them, nevertheless, an enduring pattern of thought remains. By uncovering the postulates on which Voltaire's "system" rests, the present paper seeks to show clearly the implications of his thinking. New insight may be gained with respect to the role played in his thought by higher reason. The importance he attaches to popular government can be evaluated more fully. The source and nature of the norm he uses in measuring the conduct of statesmen of his time become evident. From a discussion of these topics, the constructive meaning he gave to the Enlightenment emerges in clear relief. For the sake of conciseness and significant juxtaposition in the treatment of Voltaire's argument, an arrangement which is not his own and which joins materials taken from many of his works has been followed.

Voltaire's approach to political problems may be discerned in part through his reactions to works by Plato, Bodin, Grotius, Pufendorf, Hobbes, Locke, and Montesquieu. First, attempts to transcend the

¹ George H. Sabine, *History of Political Theory* (New York, 1937), pp. 560-62.

² Carl Joachim Friedrich, *Inevitable Peace* (Cambridge, 1948), pp. 165-66, 168-69.

confusion of political experience in order to depict an ideal society compatible with an unchanging world of form are of little worth, for Voltaire, because they mean orientation by speech alone. He dismisses Plato's "République chimérique" as "un de ses grands rêves."³ "Ses idées générales du beau, du bien, de l'ordre, du juste," which presuppose "des êtres éternels appelés *ordre, bien, beau, juste*," represent "le charlatanisme de l'esprit" (Voltaire, XVII, 572; XX, 436). Aristotle, too, had the fault of most of the Greek philosophers, "plus occupés des mots que des choses" (XVII, 369-70; XXX, 496). Second, Voltaire objects to doctrines which, swinging to the other extreme, seek to explain morals and institutions by physical causes alone. Thoroughgoing relativism is no better than absolute standard. In the *République* and the *Méthode de l'histoire*, Bodin affirms that climate is "le principe du gouvernement des peuples et de leur religion." In the *Esprit des lois*, Montesquieu carries this idea still farther. According to Voltaire, the "mœurs" of a nation may undergo complete transformation even though climate remains invariable. Climate exerts some control over peoples, but government has "cent fois plus" and religion, when joined to government, still more (XVIII, 199-200). They in their own right may be considered causes of change. Third, between the extreme positions of Plato and Bodin, as interpreted by Voltaire, lie other doctrines equally unacceptable to him. They do not neglect observable fact altogether. At the same time, normative in their method, some of them posit as the source of civil law a natural law perceptible to man's "right reason," the capacity to know and follow ends other than those of his own selfish interest.⁴ The allegedly self-evident, unchanging propositions of natural law, one of the most important of which is the notion that any obligation to be binding must be freely self-imposed by promise or contract, may be used, Voltaire complains, to justify many actions repugnant to man's deepest feelings. In their attempts to show that existing institutions, conditions, and practices have been self-imposed and therefore are binding, jurists, like Grotius and Pufendorf, often make of justice little more than rationalization. Most of their arguments are "profondément frivoles" (X, 193; XVIII, 427). Grotius wonders if a prisoner of war has the right to escape and decides that "il n'a pas ce droit." He might as well add that "ayant été blessé, il n'a pas le droit de se faire panser," for "la nature décide contre Grotius." Pufendorf is equally in error when he says slavery was established "par un libre consentement des parties, et par un contrat de faire afin qu'on nous donne." Slavery runs counter to man's nature: "Je ne croirai Pufendorf que quand il m'aura montré

³ Voltaire, *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Moland (Paris, 1877-1885), XX, 227; XXI, 133. Henceforth, references to this work are made in parentheses.

⁴ Hugo Grotius, *De jure belli ac pacis libri tres* (Oxford, 1926), II, 11; Samuel Pufendorf, *De jure naturae et gentium libri octo* (Oxford, 1934), II, 169-72.

le premier contrat" (XVIII, 603-604).⁵ Toward Hobbes, who changes the classic meaning of natural law when he places right before law or obligation of any kind,⁶ Voltaire is less harsh than toward Grotius and Pufendorf. Hobbes is austere, "bien dur," but this "triste philosophe" seems right in many of his conclusions, "j'ai peur que sa dureté ne tienne souvent à la vérité" (Voltaire, XXVII, 312). Unfortunately he is a forerunner of Spinoza, who completely identifies law, right, and force. Voltaire is disappointed that Hobbes should confuse "la puissance avec le droit" and believe that "l'autorité seule fait les lois." He rebels against a system which, using as criteria only necessity and equity, teaches the complete artificiality of political values (XXVI, 86; XXVII, 326).

As a result of his analysis of these writings, Voltaire feels the need of dissociating himself from any one tradition (XXVII, 326). By his comments, at the same time, he implies the features he considers essential to a new doctrine. Its data should be derived from observation and experience, personal and historical, more than from discourse, that is, reasoning about popular opinion in search of an ideal standard. The approach is to be moral and political rather than naturalistic. Although the effect of climate on a nation's laws is important, the value of the relation existing between the people of a nation on the one hand and their government and religion on the other is to be the principal object of inquiry. Any norm derived from such investigation should be consistent with man's nature and condition.

Pertinent to Voltaire's thinking is a psychology that has mechanistic leanings in spite of his frequent insistence that man's will is free.⁷ It follows in a general way views common to his age. He believes that man's understanding of the world is gained through the senses (XXII, 213). By his will, man may, theoretically, avoid what seems on the basis of experience to be bad for him and pursue what seems good. Reason is described as a curb, not a foe, to the passions; even "la vertu sévère... résiste aux passions et ne les détruit pas" (II, 72; IX, 449). The passions are not bad, but are essential stimuli (IX, 410). In the opinion of Voltaire, however, this construct must be qualified carefully with respect to two points. First, the terms "understanding," "will," "reason," and others useful in

⁵ Voltaire does not criticize explicitly Locke's ideas on natural law, although the latter, like Grotius and Pufendorf, conceives of the law of nature as rationality and adopts the fiction of contract. John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Thomas Cook (New York, 1947), pp. 123, 169.

⁶ Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Michael Oakeshott (Oxford, 1946), pp. lii, liii; Leo Strauss, *Political Philosophy of Hobbes* (Chicago, 1952), p. 155.

⁷ At times Voltaire seems to change his mind and to hold that man is not free. Cf. *Voltaire's Notebooks*, ed. Theodore Besterman (Genève, 1952), II, 298, 356-57. Nevertheless, his conception of man remains essentially the same. When he says the will is not free, he is either suggesting the influence of heredity and environment, which at another time he considers impertinent, or is drawing a different conclusion from evidence related to the degree of control passion may have over human behavior, an influence he finds strong even when he says the will is free.

designating hypothetical operations of the soul and body are easily mistaken for specific, well-defined physical entities, whereas they are nothing but "*idées abstraites*." They do not exist "*réellement comme des êtres différents*." It is not relevant, then, to say that "*l'un agit sur l'autre*." Confusion in the use of symbols leads in this case to determinism on a basis of words alone. It may, for example, be asserted that the understanding which physically determines will is itself determined. Because of this tendency to take divisions too seriously, the nature of man's mental and physical activity is overlooked. Understanding and will cannot be separated in their operation and do not have any existence apart from man. "*Entendement*" means nothing more than "*l'homme pensant*." "*Volonté*" means "*l'homme voulant*." When thought, will, and action are seen in this integrated sense, man may be called free: "*La liberté donnée de Dieu à l'homme est le pouvoir faible, limité et passager, de s'appliquer à quelques pensées, et d'opérer certains mouvements*." Second, the effect of the passions on man's freedom must not be forgotten. Uncontrolled, they often dominate will. Man is then determined not by what he thinks is right or wrong, but by his automatic reactions to events: "*Lorsque vous aviez cette passion furieuse, votre volonté n'était plus obéie par vos sens : alors vous n'étiez pas plus libre que lorsqu'une paralysie vous empêche de mouvoir ce bras que vous voulez remuer*" (XXII, 217-20).

According to these two considerations, the only obstacle to freedom is passion out of control. If the passions are at times subject to will, if the possible ultimate dependence of man's understanding on environment or a higher being is considered impertinent, then it still may be said that man has liberty, conditional and precarious as it may be (XXII, 219). Man is aware of this freedom by inner conflict (IX, 391). Freedom is not made to depend on speculation about any spiritual quality which God has given to man. For Voltaire, although there is no demonstration "*contre la spiritualité et l'immortalité de l'âme . . . toutes les vraisemblances sont contre elles*." Thought is not an indication of spirituality. There is even reason for believing that God "*a organisé les corps pour penser comme pour manger et pour digérer*." The liberty to which Voltaire holds amounts to no more than the recognition in man of a minimal power to choose at times deliberately or instinctively rather than to react always automatically in passion. Voltaire speaks of the liberty of children "*qui ne réfléchissent point encore*" and of animals "*qui ne réfléchissent jamais*." For both freedom consists "*à vouloir et à opérer des mouvements seulement*" (XXII, 212-18). Such a doctrine of liberty empties the word of much of its traditional force and meaning, since it admits frequent automatism in man, discounts the importance of ultimate determinism, and avoids associating freedom with any particular creed. Essentially materialistic, it makes man the sole responsible agent of his deeds.

To find motivating forces consistent with man's nature, Voltaire imagines him as he must have appeared in his most primitive state.

Àn animal "fort au-dessous des premiers Iroquois," his life is uncomfortable and harsh (X, 85; XIX, 383). The species is greatly reduced by "la difficulté de la nourriture et par le défaut des secours." If there is a difference in intelligence among men, it has no practical consequence for each: "ses idées seraient renfermées dans le soin de se nourrir. . . . C'est alors que l'homme ne serait précisément qu'un enfant robuste." His knowledge of the world is limited, and as a result his ability to turn its resources to advantage is restricted. For language he has only "quelques sons mal articulés" (XIX, 383). He is primarily a creature of passion, compelled by "la fureur de l'amour-propre," for nature does not give him more love for another than for himself. In spite of the excesses to which egoism may drive him, even to the point of dissociation at times from other men, he does in this state have an unreasoned "sentiment de pitié et de bienveillance" (XXII, 222-23), more negative than positive in its effect. Unpoliced, reflecting "la pure nature humaine," the strongest attacks the weakest. He is restrained only when signs of injury awaken his compassion. Instinctively, then, he seems to sense that he is attacking himself: "les larmes, les plaintes, que la douleur arrache à cette machine, font une impression soudaine sur la machine de son camarade qui le battait." As if controlled by a superior power, "il s'émeut, il s'attendrit, il embrasse son ennemi qu'il a blessé." The next day if there are goods to be divided, the struggle begins again (XXX, 408-409). Egoism, which is stronger than this instinctive restraint and "doit toujours l'emporter sur elle" (XXII, 226), is at the same time curbed enough by it to prevent primitive men from destroying one another by violence.

At this stage man is not cognizant of any higher law. God as supreme authority did not give him rules: "Dieu n'a pas dit à la vérité aux hommes: Voici des lois que je vous donne de ma bouche." Moral good and evil, like physical well-being and suffering, can be measured only by reference to oneself (XXII, 226-27). If God placed men and animals on earth, he abandoned them, "c'est à eux de s'y conduire de leur mieux" (p. 228). The notion of justice, which is independent of religion, law, and covenant, must come later as a result of man's experience: "Avez-vous la notion de *juste* et d'*injuste* autrement que par des actions qui vous ont paru telles?" (XIX, 428; XXVI, 79). Early man's intellect is incapable of perceiving ends other than those inspired by his own emotions and needs. He has no expansive sociableness, no right reason capable of finding the conditions consistent with a fixed law, such as the sanctity of contracts, the security of property, and good faith, the self-evident value of which, according to the natural law theorist, is supposed to speak to the rationality of all men and bind their conscience. He has only his instinct of benevolence, a restraining rather than normalizing force. He acts by a behavioristic law which permits his survival: "Dieu nous fait naître avec des organes qui, à mesure qu'ils croissent, nous font sentir tout

ce que notre espèce doit sentir pour la conservation de cette espèce" (XIX, 548).

This state of nature departs from any clear-cut tradition. By throwing man back upon his own resources and refusing to borrow from natural law as rationality, Voltaire approaches Hobbes's position and divorces himself from the tradition of Plato, Aristotle, Grotius, Pufendorf, and Locke. He also denies the influence of the truth of natural theology⁸ and of law revealed through scripture. Yet he is still able to posit a condition in which the relation of men to one another is not that of war. Men, although unaware of law and therefore of rights drawn from it, do not have a solipsistic inclination to lay claim to everything they need for survival against an enemy by the formula "tous ayant droit à tout, chacun a droit sur la vie de son semblable" (XXVI, 86). In spite of their ego, which tends to shut them off from others, instinct prevents total destruction of the species.

Whereas the feeling of benevolence plays an inhibiting role, the passions, source of energetic striving in man, contribute positively to the origin and growth of society: "cette bienveillance [qui nous dispose à l'union] serait encore un faible secours pour nous faire vivre en société; elle n'aurait jamais pu servir à fonder de grands empires et des villes florissantes, si nous n'avions pas eu de grandes passions." Pride, not reason, is "le principal instrument avec lequel on a bâti ce bel édifice de la société." When by chance people come together, the most cunning man or men, "les plus adroits" among those congregated, notice that the species has been endowed with "un orgueil indomptable" and "un penchant invincible pour le bien-être." In the minds of the others they manage to associate pride with sacrifice of personal well-being to the common good. The most altruistic and the most selfish then have cause to rival one another in good works. The desire to command, "qui est une des branches de l'orgueil," motivates the few to obtain obedience from the others. The relationship between government and governed is established gradually without formal agreement. Use is not made of a contract between members of a group or between ruler and members. A covenant implies a relinquishment of right and an assumption of obligation by people conscious of the meaning of right and obligation. Voltaire's primitive man unwittingly passes to the social state. In this context pride is a central and innocent characteristic rather than an inferior influence, an original defect, "l'homme n'est point né pervers et enfant du diable," or a flaw resulting from the Fall, "la chimère que l'homme était né sans passions et qu'il n'en a eu que pour avoir désobéi à Dieu . . ." (XIX, 381; XXII, 222-23). Not the traditional rebellion against preordained hierarchy, against an obligatory gradation among men in intelligence and virtue, pride is the feeling that one is as good as or is better than one's fellow man and able to vie with him in any

⁸ St. Augustine, *City of God*, ed. Marcus Dods (New York, 1949), I, 238-40, 305.

area of competition. A man proud in this sense strives by nature for individual freedom and equality independently of any concept of higher order. Only through trickery is man at times led into bondage.⁹

The positive laws of a nation are likewise the product of necessity rather than rationality. After passion has driven man into society, a need for law is felt: "Pour qu'une société subsistât, il fallait des lois, comme il faut des règles à chaque jeu." Emphasis is placed, then, not on the essential similarities between the laws of nations, but on the differences: "elles dépendent des intérêts, des passions, et des opinions de ceux qui les ont inventées, et de la nature du climat où les hommes se sont assemblés en société." Virtue and vice may be defined as adherence to or violation of the laws of any given society. Lack of uniformity in the content of the laws of nations is unimportant. Within any nation, however, "ce qui importe beaucoup, c'est que les lois une fois établies soient exécutées." Of people who speak of standard, of absolute good as "bien en soi et indépendant de l'homme," it should be asked "s'il y a du froid et du chaud . . . autrement que par rapport à nous?" The common good or need of the community, social utility, seems to be the one operative rule in the formulation and testing of laws: "le bien de la société est la seule mesure du bien et du mal moral . . ." (XXII, 224-27). But even this criterion suffers abuse in application. Often it becomes no more than a pretense by which to justify policy contrary to the good of the people (XIX, 285). Wars, for example, are not between the peoples of nations, but between governments, and when the individuals in a government plot war, it is for personal greed, not the common good (X, 193). This arbitrariness extends to most of the institutions of a country. The will of the government, narrowing by law the freedom of the people, leaves to the individual an animal existence: "Une société d'hommes gouvernée arbitrairement ressemble parfaitement à une troupe de bœufs mis au joug pour le service du maître" (XXIV, 413).

In democracy, man retains a status acceptable to his pride or natural feeling of equality: "Le plus tolérable de tous [les gouvernements] est sans doute le républicain, parce que c'est celui qui rapproche le plus les hommes de l'égalité naturelle" (XXIV, 424-25). Each may live and work in confidence, "étant sûr de la propriété de ses biens et de sa personne." "Le désir de dominer," which is in every heart, does not permit "qu'un autre domine." This type of government, however, because Voltaire conceives of it as one in which each citizen participates personally rather than through representatives, is practical only in "un très-petit pays," "un petit canton suisse, ou à Genève" (XII, 172; XVIII, 333; XIX, 387; XXIII, 531). Aristocracy and monarchy are more inclined to arbitrariness. Monarchs are usually leaders by ruse and deception, by "le grand art de surprendre, tuer, et voler"

⁹ For Voltaire, contrary to the opinion of Montesquieu, despotism is not a natural form of government: "il n'y a point d'état despotique par sa nature" (XXIII, 530).

(XXVII, 343-44). For Voltaire, that "higher reason" with which the rationalist tradition from Plato to Grotius endows the ruler and justifies his position as head of the state does not by necessity of an orderly universe reside in princes. Instead of attributing kingly vision to the "right reason" of princes, he speaks in terms of individual character, education, and chance. The first is beyond human control: "Nous ne pouvons nous donner des goûts, des talents; pourquoi nous donnerions-nous des qualités?" (XVIII, 51, 90). The second, often entrusted to fanatics, may create tyrants rather than benevolent rulers (XXV, 471-72). Finally, chance is against ascension to the throne of any but a person of inferior intelligence: "sur cent hommes, quatre-vingt-dix sots; sur vingt millions, un roi; donc dix-huit millions à parier contre deux qu'un roi sera un pauvre homme" (XXXI, 119). The predominance of monarchy and its degenerate form, despotism, is not hard to explain: "les hommes sont très-rarement dignes de se gouverner eux-mêmes" (XX, 185). Despotism indicates that a community "n'a eu ni le courage ni l'habileté" for self-rule (XXIV, 413). History does provide some evidence that responsible government may be won. The people of England have laws which protect their rights (XIX, 295-96). If liberty consists in being dependent on law alone, then each man is free in Sweden, Switzerland, at Amsterdam, Geneva, and Hamburg (XX, 377; XXIII, 526).

The basis of the claim a people has to freedom from oppressive government lies in Voltaire's hypothetical history of man's passage from the natural to the social state. At first glance, however, there seems to be no ground to justify a break in the precedent of arbitrary rule. The fact that society is so often founded on trickery may indicate that arbitrariness has to be. Tacit consent supports a leader's claim to rule. There is no contract that binds him to preserve the people's so-called right.¹⁰ If there were a contract, there is no fixed higher law in the name of which they can declare him unjust, nullify the contract, and remove him from the position of leadership.¹¹ Man's claim is contingent upon an intellectual awakening which comes after long experience in society: "L'amour de la liberté n'est-il pas devenu leur caractère dominant, à mesure qu'ils [les Anglais] ont été plus éclairés et plus riches" (XIX, 295).

By comparing his civilized condition with his hypothesized natural existence, man recognizes that he has lost what in retrospect he now calls his right or claim, derived from two sources, both of them necessary to mankind's survival, both of them part of nature, "cet amour-propre nécessaire pour sa conservation" and "une bienveillance naturelle" (XXII, 222). Amour-propre, of which pride is an extreme form, causes man to value his own life and to reach out for goods in

¹⁰ Cf. Pufendorf, II, 975. Rulers by contract "bind themselves to the care of the common security and safety."

¹¹ Cf. Locke, pp. 186, 239. Rebellion is justified when kings use force without right. The sovereign is bound to govern by established standing laws.

order to survive and enjoy. In the state of nature he has the power to perform equally and freely, that is, to compete for the same objects as his neighbor and to the full extent of his ability. It is satisfaction of passion, not intelligence or reason capable of embracing the necessary order of things, which makes the power to compete under these conditions a good for him.

Liberty and property, "*le cri anglais . . . c'est le cri de la nature*" (XX, 291). Liberty to acquire is the fundamental law of nature (XX, 291; XXVII, 381). But law here signifies right (claim), not law as obligation. Such liberty, since it means amour-propre striving, can lead to chaos. Mutual destruction is prevented by the instinct of benevolence, which modifies the total claim of amour-propre. In this adaptation of man to his condition lies a principle, invisible to primitive man, submerged as he is in nature, but visible to sophisticated man's reasoning. If a man may say to himself, "*Vous avez droit aux productions de la terre que vous avez cultivée par vos mains,*" and have his right recognized by other men, it is not simply because his ego requires these things, for then everyone would have an equal right to them. He and others must abide by a rule: "*Ne fais pas ce que tu ne voudrais pas qu'on te fit*" (XXV, 40).

The rule has two essential characteristics. First, it follows rather than precedes right. It is consequence, not cause. Expressed negatively when it is related to "*droit naturel,*" thus differentiated from the golden rule of "*la religion naturelle,*" it is a rule of forbearance. Amour-propre determines man's activities, his quest for property, his union with others for profit, all the content which makes the rule meaningful. Forbearance serves to control the relations of him and his fellow men in these undertakings. Because of it, he abstains from the land of another. When he gives a promise, he knows that "*elle doit être tenue*" (XXII, 226; XXV, 39-40). Liberty and property are the positive claims, "*le droit seul de conquête a pu . . . dépouiller les hommes d'un droit si naturel*" (XX, 291). The rule states the negative way of equity under which ownership rather than possession becomes possible. Second, as law, forbearance transcends nature. The instinct of benevolence cannot always control amour-propre. In fact, in a conflict between them, "*l'amour-propre . . . doit toujours l'emporter sur elle*" (XXII, 226). Before there can be regular conformity to the rule, forbearance must be imposed on nature. The conditional form of the rule implies that attitudes of forbearance are dictated of prudence, either desire for security or fear of punishment. Acquired through experience, reinforced by positive laws for the common good, these attitudes permit a people to pursue felicity, the satisfaction of the human "*penchant invincible pour le bien-être,*" individually and collectively.

By retracing his own social evolution, man has discovered the full significance of the expressions, "*gouvernement arbitraire,*" "*lois arbitraires.*" If the members of a government establish slavery, encourage

superstition and intolerance, permit inequities in any form, they are destroying his most primitive means to survival, amour-propre and benevolence, and ignoring the instrumental rule which permits him to rise above nature and justify the claim of amour-propre. As a result, the public good loses its basis and meaning. The government, in spite of its professed interest in the common welfare, is not serving a function consistent with man's nature and need. If positive law is to eliminate arbitrariness, its aim, like that of English law, must be "à remettre chaque homme dans tous les droits de la nature, dont ils sont dépouillés dans presque toutes les monarchies" (XIX, 296). These rights, required by amour-propre and benevolence, include freedom of one's person and goods from lawless arrest or confiscation, freedom of expression, right to trial by a jury of disinterested men according to due process of law, and freedom of worship (XIX, 296).

In its foreign policy, a government which upholds the public good avoids war. First, on moral grounds, war cannot be justified. Moral evil is basically physical evil: "Ce mal moral n'est qu'un sentiment douloureux qu'un être organisé cause à un autre être organisé." The greatest physical evil for man at any stage of his development is death. Amour-propre and benevolence are means to the conservation of self and the species. It follows that "le plus grand des maux physiques est la mort, le plus grand des maux en moral est assurément la guerre: elle traîne après elle . . . la rapine, la dévastation, la douleur et la mort sous toutes les formes" (XVII, 579-80). Second, war is economically unprofitable, "un gouffre où tous les canaux de l'abondance s'engloutissent" (XIV, 526), a threat to man's well-being. Third, offensive war is politically unsound, for to wage war offensively is to expose the country to unneeded risk of defeat. The only policy consistent with the public good is to make oneself strong, to form alliances, to have as many manufacturers, farmers, sailors, and soldiers as a neighbor, "se tenir continuellement sur ses gardes" (XIX, 322; XXVII, 370). When attacked, the nation, as the instrument of the welfare of its people, must be maintained at all cost. Defensive war alone is justifiable.

Contrary to the prevalent assumption, Voltaire's political ideas, when assembled, form a largely consistent body of theory. His doctrine cannot be accurately described as a belief in an absolute standard known to reason, by which conduct and institutions may be once and for all condemned. The concept of the enlightened despot is very different from the platonic concept of the "teachable tyrant," endowed with a "higher reason" which justifies and explains his role as head of a nation. Concerned with the cause of popular government, Voltaire feels that an informed people may exert worthwhile influence on government, no matter what its form. According to his argument, primitive man is a creature of passion, motivated primarily by pride, an innocent feeling of equality. In a sense there is order in his life. Instinctively, "quand il ne lui coûte rien" in self-preservation or pride,

he can experience a feeling of benevolence to a point where his self-centered striving is restrained, and an act of mercy is done. With only his behavioristic drives and checks, comparable to the instincts of lower animals,¹² man in the condition of nature cannot be said to have any higher law. God, if He placed him on earth, exerts no control over him. Having assigned man characteristics and potentialities, He leaves him to find his own way, "à faire ce qu'il pourra." Nor are there among men individuals capable of penetrating by "higher reason" to a transcendent model which may be imposed upon human practices and institutions. There is no significant gradation among men as a result of which some are destined to establish and interpret law. Rulers are simply cunning (*adroits*). Since there is no natural capacity in men for determining the public good, the ruler gives laws and formulates policy on the basis of his own passion and interest. To conceal or justify his arbitrariness, he confuses the minds of his followers by talk of an absolute or divine good. Every institution of the state is corrupted in some way by this occult sanction. A prince, enlightened through study, not because of higher reason, may reform laws, religion, and foreign policy, but the odds are against this. Education may blind him even further to his relation to other men. In his position, the prime motivation of man, expression of ego and pride, encourages him to seek absolute authority. Less arbitrary than aristocracy or monarchy, the republican form of government, suitable to small states, or a mixed government with republican features, adaptable to a state of any size, is the best guardian of the public good, for in them each man's pride prevents at least the usurpation of liberty by any one ruler or clique.

But the problem of arbitrariness lies even deeper than form of government. In using the terms "arbitrary" and "general good," men often utter meaningless sounds. To define them, man must use his imagination and knowledge of history to recreate his condition at different stages of social development. He then discerns as operative in human activity a principle which can be stated as the silver rule. Once discovered, the formula enables him to rise above nature (instinct) and acquire the habit of forbearance. The negative law has no content of its own, but provides an even-handed instrument for safeguarding an individual good determined by *amour-propre*. The rule, for example, does not make slavery undesirable or liberty desirable, but *amour-propre* does. The rule does not inspire man's claim to property; *amour-propre* does that. Adherence to the maxim of equity simply makes it possible for men to recognize the claim of each. Since individual good and public good are relative to the human condition, they cannot, as if they were a standard, passionless and

¹² *Voltaire's Notebooks*, II, 374-75: "La faim et l'amour, principe physique pour tous les animaux: amour-propre et bienveillance, principe moral pour les hommes. Ces premières roues font mouvoir toutes les autres, et toute la machine du monde est gouvernée par elles. Chacun obéit à son instinct."

independent of necessity, be used to approve or condemn practices and institutions conclusively. Positive laws must change with the demands of amour-propre and benevolence (XXIV, 417). Similarly, war cannot be unconditionally condemned. Defensive war is accepted as necessary. If it is argued that the bases of individual right and public good, that is, amour-propre and benevolence, are at least relatively fixed and unchanging criteria, it must be remembered that they, too, contingent on the goal of preservation of self and the species, are instruments of necessity. Conservation of life itself is meaningful as a primary good because of death, the greatest evil. In this scale of values, there is no absolute good as terminus, but death, the absence of good (XVII, 575, 579-80).

Although usually in the past Voltaire has been linked to the tradition of the natural law theorists, he turns away from their thinking on most important points. He does not use the fiction of contract. Right reason is not the source of the authority of princes. For him, there is no absolute standard, no fixed law as rationality, no intrinsic good, only good defined within the context of man's need. Reason does not mean adherence to a higher law of any kind, natural or divine, but to the instinct of benevolence and to a rule of prudence, accepted as valid, not through faith or higher reason, but because of its applicability on a basis of sentiment to all men: "Cette loi de traiter son prochain comme soi-même découle naturellement des notions les plus grossières, et se fait entendre tôt ou tard au cœur de tous les hommes" (XXII, 421; XXVI, 79). Man appears as a complex being in whom the passions are usually stronger than reason and as important in obtaining an objective. The enlightened man or truly moral person, after striving to establish laws and policy guarding the public interest, supports them, not for fear of punishment, but because he understands that they are the means by which the right to compete freely and equally is raised from dependence on arbitrariness and the uncertain instinct of benevolence and made a regular part of national life. Within this intellectual framework, which places the claim of amour-propre before rationality, that is, before justice as interpreted by the right reason of princes, the ultimate value of the state as a reflection of higher law is opened to question. The implication is that the duty of obedience to a government should be conditional upon its protection of freedom, which particularly in a government with republican features may determine the law of the land.

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A NOTE ON FONTENELLE'S *HISTOIRE DU THÉÂTRE
FRANÇAIS JUSQU'À CORNEILLE*

By JOHN VAN EERDE

The *Histoire du théâtre français jusqu'à Corneille* by Fontenelle (1657-1757) is far too sketchy a work to deserve an honorable place in the bibliography of French dramatic literature. Its interest lies rather in the antireligious and the anticlerical tone of the author. Even in this "history," published in 1742, which one might expect to be remote in every respect from such works as *De l'origine des fables* and *L'Histoire des oracles*, its author is plainly a precursor of the "philosophe" attitude toward religion.

Fontenelle's illustrations seem chosen less to elucidate the history of pre-Cornelian theater than to allow him to make derogatory remarks about religion. Discussing, for instance, the religious origins of the theater from the time of "Quem quaeritis in sepulcro," he betrays how fully he associates the manifestation of Christian faith in dramatic form with abysmal ignorance. What he appears to impute to the medieval mind is a lack of the critical faculty: "Au sortir du sermon, ces bonnes gens allaient à la comédie, c'est-à-dire qu'ils changeaient de sermon. Jusques dans leurs divertissemens, ils avaient les choses de la religion devant les yeux: leur foi était fortifiée par l'habitude qu'ils contractaient avec elles; et en entendre si souvent parler, c'était quasi les avoir vues."¹ In other words, the theater was a part of the paraphernalia that nurtured a spirit of uninquiring acceptance—an acceptance that will be combatted by the age which Fontenelle ushers in. "Dans tous ces ouvrages," he continues, "l'application de nos mœurs à des siècles entièrement différens, produit un burlesque continuel, dont nos ancêtres n'avaient pas le moindre soupçon" (p. 308). Now this objection to the anachronistic attribution of contemporary characteristics parallels precisely the way Fontenelle thinks in *De l'origine des fables*. He complains in the quoted passage about men who arbitrarily endow ancestors with their own way of life. Obviously what he does not like is the creation of one's forebears in one's own image without a reasonable basis for doing so. For such an imagination as this, which Fontenelle condemns, it is not an insuperable jump to the creation of gods and finally of a God in one's own image. He explains how this process works in *De l'origine des fables*: "On avait vu souvent verser de l'eau de dedans une cruche; on imaginait donc fort bien comment un dieu versait celle d'une rivière; et

¹ Fontenelle, *Histoire du théâtre français*, in *Œuvres Complètes* (Paris, 1818), II, 306.

par la facilité même qu'on avait à l'imaginer, on était tout à fait porté à le croire. Ainsi, pour rendre raison des tonnerres et des foudres, on se représentait volontiers un dieu de figure humaine, lançant sur nous des flèches de feu; idées manifestement prises sur des objets très familiers."²

Fontenelle shares the objection of eighteenth-century writers to the emphasis on spectacle and ceremony in religions. These writers, so most of them claim, prefer a quiet, private worship affording the individual a personal communion with God. Anything which, while operating in the name of religion, departs from this spirit of strict intimacy, whether on or off the altar, is unworthy of God. This attitude must be the measure by which we appraise the following statement from Fontenelle's *Histoire*: "Il faut des spectacles et des divertissemens, à quelque prix que ce soit; et la religion elle-même, toute sérieuse qu'elle est, est obligée, à en fournir, quand on n'en peut pas tirer d'ailleurs" (pp. 312-13).

The author of the *Histoire* would seem to go out of his way to mention material inimical to the clergy. Certainly he gives this impression as he takes up a thirteenth-century Provençal play by Anselme Faidit entitled *l'Heregia dels preysres* (*The Heresy of the Priests*). Mention of the play enables Fontenelle to remark, apparently with pleasure, that the Albigensians and Waldensians established an anticlerical vogue that the papal legates struggled in vain to stop. As for the theater in France, Fontenelle dates its beginning from the fifteenth-century "mystères." Discussing that century, he claims, "Nous avons des idées nobles de Dieu et de la religion"; and then he goes on the offensive: "Mais les siècles de nos pères plongés dans une épaisse ignorance, instruits seulement par des moines mendiants, n'avaient garde de prendre sur la religion des idées nobles et convenables. Jetez l'œil sur les images et les peintures de leurs églises; tout cela a quelque chose de bas et de mesquin, qui représente le caractère de leur imagination" (p. 305). Thus does Fontenelle embrace the conventional theory of the "Dark Ages," all too willing to recall the teaching role of the "moines mendiants," but silent about the positive role played by the Church in the preservation of our cultural heritage.

Further evidence of anticlericalism is to be found in the portion of the *Histoire* that deals with Jodelle's *Eugène*. Pointing out the bad light in which high-living ecclesiastics are depicted in the play, he concludes: "Il fallait qu'ils fussent bien appliqués à jouir, lorsqu'ils méprisaient les bruits jusqu'à ce point-là" (p. 325). The eighteenth-century propensity to see evil or sheer stupidity in the Church is manifest also in the remarks on Alexandre Hardy's *Elmire*, in which the lines that Fontenelle chooses to quote are the very ones that show the Pope acting ridiculously.

² Fontenelle, *De l'origine des fables*, in *Œuvres Complètes*, II, 389-90.

The *Histoire* then, although of no value to students of the theater, assumes proportions as a document in the literature that may be considered precursory to the Age of Enlightenment. The tone of this document is as forceful as it is unexpected, and indeed, seems inappropriate to the subject with which it purports to deal.

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TWO OLD FRENCH TRANSLATIONS OF BOCCACCIO'S *DE CASIBUS VIRORUM ILLUSTRUM*

By PATRICIA M. GATHERCOLE

Laurent de Premierfait, a ranking translator of the fifteenth century,¹ rendered Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium*² into French in 1400. As a basis for his translation he chose the first version of this work, written in 1353, in which Boccaccio portrayed the downfall and final destruction of men of high station in past ages. Attracted by the didactic possibilities of *De casibus* and considering his first translation inadequate, Laurent brought out an entirely new rendering in 1409.³ The translation of the first version,⁴ entitled *De la Ruïne des nobles hommes et femmes* (changed in the second to *Du Cas des nobles hommes et femmes*), was almost completely literal. A rendering of this kind was contrary to the usual practice of medieval translators who frequently added lengthy passages, replete with details taken from other sources, in the hope of holding their readers' interest. In this paper the fidelity and accuracy of the first translation will be discussed, as well as the relationship of this document to the original Latin text and its connection with the second French version.

The question of authorship of the 1400 translation was long debated. Since Laurent did not sign any of the extant manuscripts of this version, and since his name appears on only one copy of the second,⁵ scholars have questioned whether he wrote part or all of it and whether he was the author of the entire text of the second version.

¹ Laurent was born in 1380 at Premierfait, a village near Troyes in Champagne. He first describes himself as "clerc du diocese de Troyes" and later states that he was secretary to Cardinal Amadeo di Saluzzo. At the Papal Court of Avignon he became acquainted with a number of men of letters, and on his return to Paris he earned a living as translator for such illustrious patrons as Louis de Bourbon, Bureau de Dampmartin, and Jean, Duke of Berry. He is said to have died in 1418. His translations, apart from *De casibus*, include Cicero's *De senectute* in 1405, his *De amicitia* in 1416, Aristotle's *Economics* in 1418, and Boccaccio's *Decamerone* in 1414 (the latter two from Latin translations). For further information about Laurent's life see Henri Hauvette, *De Laurentio de Primofato* (Paris, 1903).

² For information about translations of *De casibus* into other languages, see George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, III (Baltimore, 1948), 1805.

³ For more detail concerning Laurent's second translation of *De casibus*, see my article "Laurent de Premierfait: The Translator of Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium*," in *French Review*, XVII (1954), 245-52. See also Paul Durrieu, *Le Boccace de Munich* (Munich, 1909), Chap. II, "Le Texte contenu dans le 'Boccace de Munich,' Jean Boccace et Laurent de Premierfait."

⁴ The first version of this text was dedicated to Louis, Duke of Bourbon, on November 13, 1400.

⁵ See the manuscript BN fr. 226.

Pierre-Louis Ginguené⁸ states that the 1400 translation was done jointly by Premierfait and an anonymous writer from Bruges, where the work was first printed in 1476. Van Praet⁹ ascribes the second translation (1409) to a curate of Aubervilliers, Pierre Faure, whose name appears at the end of one of the manuscripts. Paulin Paris¹⁰ rejects the idea of joint authorship of the first version and insists that Laurent is the sole author of both translations. He maintains that Laurent, being in the service of both the Church and the Crown, felt compelled to prepare a second rendition in order to soften the harsh attacks he made in 1400 on the clergy and royalty.¹¹ Attilio Hortis and Henri Hauvette add decisively to the discussion by upholding the same view as Paris.¹²

Laurent's own statements further clarify this situation and afford an insight into his theories of translation. In the introduction to the first version he mentions his desire to lengthen the text of the original Latin in order to make it clearer for the reader: "Certainement nous escripteurs desirons et çommes constrains par une couverte gloire de anoblir et alongier nos foibles livres par les meilleurs aydes que nous povons." He further affirms, in the introduction to the 1409 version, that he is translating Boccaccio's *De casibus* again in the hope of improving his first rendition: "Je doncques selon le jugement commun en amandant se je puis la premiere translation du dit livre vueil senz riens condempner aultrefois translater le dit livre."¹³ He also explains at the outset of the second version his intention of amplifying the original text and even points out the parts which he will lengthen—"les sentences du livre et les histoires"—where Boccaccio gave only proper names:

Par le moien de la grace divine je vueil principalement moy ficher en deux choses, c'est assavoir mettre en cler langage les sentences du livre et les his-

⁸ See his article entitled "Boccace," in *La Biographie universelle*. The printing of the work at Bruges in 1476 induced Ginguené to invent an anonymous translator of Bruges.

⁹ Joseph Basile B. Van Praet, in *Notice sur Colard Mansion* (Paris, 1829). Van Praet saw Faure's name on a manuscript in the Palatine Library in Monaco.

¹⁰ Paulin Paris, *Les Manuscrits français de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, I (Paris, 1836), 252.

¹¹ Laurent borrowed part of this critical material, which he incorporated into the introduction of the 1400 version, from Boccaccio's bitter letter to Mainardo dei Cavalcanti, a Florentine knight living in Naples: in a passage full of invective an emperor is represented as being dissipated and kings are portrayed as wild asses: "ilz sont asnes sauvages a beaux harnois especialement ceux qui en ce temps regnent." Quotation from the 1476 edition of *De la Ruyne des nobles hommes et femmes*, published at Bruges by Colard Mansion, an edition which follows closely the extant manuscripts. All quotations of Laurent's first translation in this article are from Book I of this edition.

¹² Attilio Hortis, *Studi sulle Opere Latine del Boccaccio* (Trieste, 1879), pp. 613-16. See also H. Hauvette, pp. 4-5.

¹³ See my edition of Book I of the second version of *Du Cas*, unpublished dissertation, University of California (Berkeley, 1950), which is based primarily on manuscript BN fr. 226.

toires qui par l'auteur sont si briément touchees que il n'en met fors seulement les noms. Je les assomeray selon la verité des vieilz historians qui au long les escrivirent.¹²

It may therefore be assumed that Laurent was the author of both translations, and it is clear that the second is much less literal than the first.

Laurent adds little new material to *De casibus* in the 1400 translation; this rendering is faithful even in its phrasing. For example, Laurent translates Boccaccio's "nec maris exterrere pericula" as "ne les perilz de la mer." The Latin "inter quoscumque mavis clarissimos plurimum inclyte glorie quaevisse videretur" he renders in the confused phrasing "entre quelconque tres noble que tu aimes mieulx: semble avoir plus acquis de noble gloire."¹³

Not only is the phrasing of the 1400 version close to that of the Latin original, but its vocabulary is even more so. H. Hauvette ventures the opinion that a person who does not know Latin cannot understand this first version.¹⁴ Indeed, its vocabulary is so highly Latinized that a radical revision was called for in 1409. For example, "descensus" becomes "descendement," to be replaced in the second version by "tombement"; "indignam" becomes "indigne," then "dure"; "mysteria" is rendered "misteres," later "affaitemens"; "execrables" is translated "execrables," afterwards "mauvaises."¹⁵

Despite his desire to render Boccaccio's Latin as faithfully as possible in 1400, Laurent did translate some words incorrectly. Most of these errors, probably the result of carelessness or haste, were corrected in the second version. He erred especially in transcribing proper names: Danaus for Thanaus (Chap. 5, 6); Melletrix for Moleatrix (Chap. 6, 10); Thirus for Cyrra (Chap. 8, 7); Thebes for Phocis (Chap. 8, 9); Spon for Spinx (Chap. 8, 10); Ciron for Creon (Chap. 8, 23); Acteus for Atreus (Chap. 9, 2); Eseus for Egeus (Chap. 10, 1); Belus for Biblis (Chap. 12, 42).¹⁶

Only occasionally does Laurent carry out his expressed intention of expanding the Latin text in the first translation. His favorite way of accomplishing this objective is to add interpretive comments about figures of antiquity. He insists, for example, upon the fact that Electra is the mother of Theseus (Chap. 13, 1); that the Minotaure

¹² Preface to the second translation.

¹³ These passages are rendered in the fuller 1409 version as follows: "en la mer c'est a dire en l'abundance des richesses mondaines fut et encores est nourrie luxure" (Chap. 18, 35); and "par quoy est venu vraye cognoissance des choses divines et humaines" (Chap. 10, 11).

¹⁴ H. Hauvette, p. 40. He discusses Laurent's expansion of the Latin on pages 39-55.

¹⁵ Examples are taken respectively from Chap. 17, 16; Chap. 17, 21; Chap. 18, 12; Chap. 18, 30.

¹⁶ A number of other readings of the first version, however, remained uncorrected in the second: so "fuscus" is rendered "bleus," and remains "bleux"; "exili nitro" is transcribed as "voirre" in both French versions; "offs" is changed to "souples" in the two; "caeruleos" to "vairs" and "vars," respectively. Examples are taken from Chap. 18, Book I, Sections 5, 6, 3, and 2, respectively.

resembles both a man and a bull (Chap. 2, 4); that the Cyclades are a hundred mountains (Chap. 15, 15). He also interprets or glosses words, translating "pestes" by "les pestilences et tous les monstres du monde" (Chap. 12, 6), and giving for "ad eorum summum," "vers levant, c'est a dire orient" (Chap. 15, 15).

Boccaccio's text, rendered so literally in 1400, was considerably modified in the 1409 translation. As the following examples indicate, these changes seem to stem from Laurent's desire to bring out the meaning of the original in a concrete way:

LATIN TEXT	1400 TEXT	1409 TEXT
ratione	par raison	en dons et en prerogatives (Chap. 2, 8)
literulis	par mes petites lettres	par mon rude langage (Chap. 12, 9)
pestes	les pestilences et tous les monstres du monde	les horribles monstres et tempestes du monde (Chap. 12, 6)
praeclarissimis donis	treschiers dons	aultretant d'or (Chap. 14, 16)

In order to clarify his narrative for his reader's benefit, Laurent uses, in the second translation, more specific terminology and what amounts to everyday vocabulary. General terms give way to more fully descriptive renderings with the result that the reader's task is considerably facilitated.¹⁷ He also interpolated many illuminating remarks, long explanations, and interpretations in the second version. We should point out, for example, a six-page account of the floods during the time of Oggigus (Chap. 5, 13), lengthy stories about important figures such as Hercules, and clarifications of geographical proper names.¹⁸

An entirely different treatment is accorded a limited number of passages, which, although translated faithfully in the 1400 version, were completely omitted from that of 1409. A few examples will suffice:

ORIGINAL LATIN TEXT	1400 TRANSLATION
invisa mortalibus nemora, leni aura percita	illec estoient bois que oncques mortelz hommes ne veirent lesquelz un doulz vent esmouvoit (Chap. 1, 9)
si delens aqua, si terra vorans	se la terre devant, se l'eaue effachant (Chap. 5, 2)
summa cum alacritate ex viro se filium concepisse percepit	apperceut soy avoir conceu de son mary un filz dont elle eut souveraine leesse (Chap. 8, 1)

¹⁷ The 1409 version loses some of the vitality and dramatic quality of the Latin original as a result of changes of the translator's direct discourse into indirect (see Chap. 11, 11).

¹⁸ Laurent used especially for his additional information about characters and places such historians as Justin, Livy, Orosius, Vincent de Beauvais. See Emil Koepfel, *Laurent de Premierfaits und John Lydgates Bearbeitungen von Boccaccios "De Casibus Virorum Illustrium"* (Munich, 1885).

ORIGINAL LATIN TEXT	1400 TRANSLATION
qui nuper pendebat ex arbore nudus; regali circumvolutus pallio regiis baiulatur ab ulnis	Cellui qui nagueres pendoit a un arbre tout nud est enveloppé de manteau royal et est porté es bras du roy (Chap. 8, 6)

Can such omissions be the result of negligence? There is obviously no reason on moral grounds for the deletion of these passages. Laurent was doubtless so overwhelmed by the mass of material at hand that he may have omitted these and other similar phrases from the second translation through sheer inadvertence or fatigue. On the other hand, he translates literally the names of pagan gods in the first version, but, doubtless because of his obligations as a devout cleric, he omits all references to them from the second.¹⁹

The popularity of Laurent's 1409 translation of *De casibus* was infinitely greater than that of the first version. Only seven manuscripts of the 1400 translation exist today, whereas approximately fifty-eight manuscripts of the second version are extant. The manuscripts of the first translation are at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (BN français 132, 597, and 24289); one is at the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in Paris (No. 1129); and another at the Musée Condé in Chantilly (No. 859). Two more are at the British Museum (Additional 11,696 and Harley 621). Most of the manuscripts of the second translation are in libraries throughout France and western Europe; six are in the United States.²⁰ The 1400 translation was printed only twice, by Colard Mansion, Bruges, 1476 (following manuscript BN français 132), and later by Husz and Schabeler, Lyons, 1483.²¹ Five editions of the 1409 translation exist, published between 1483 and 1538.²²

The characteristics of both French translations have been delineated in their relationship to Boccaccio's original Latin text. Evidence adduced by P. Paris, supported by A. Hortis and H. Hauvette, added to the testimony of Laurent himself, definitely disposes of the problem of authorship of the two versions. Laurent in 1400 followed *De casibus* closely, making virtually a word for word translation, even going so far as to use at times highly Latinized spellings. He was

¹⁹ For instance, in Chap. 15, 24, the names of Mars and Neptune are not mentioned.

²⁰ See my article, "The Manuscripts of Laurent de Premierfait's 'Du Cas des nobles' (Boccaccio's 'De casibus virorum illustrium')," in *Italica*, XXXII (1955), 14-21.

²¹ For further information on these editions and where they are found, see H. Bergen, *Lydgate's Fall of Princes* (Washington, 1927), Part IV, pp. 127-29; also G. Sarton's work, p. 1805.

²² Editions of the second translation are as follows: 1483, Jean Du Pré; 1494, Antoine Vérard; 1506(?), Antoine Vérard; 1515, Michel Le Noir; 1538, Nicolas Couteau.

There was a third version, a free translation by Charles Witart, published in 1578 at Paris by N. Eve. In 1617 J. Regnoul printed in Paris a translation of the last chapter of Book 9 by Pierre Matthieu. For more facts about these editions and where they are found, see H. Bergen, pp. 127-29.

such a master of Latin that his rendering is almost free from errors, save for an occasional careless mistake. In 1409 Laurent decided to expand Boccaccio's text in order to clarify the document for an increasing body of readers. His serious moral preoccupations led him to delete references to pagan divinities and to add moralizing anecdotes. He omitted, doubtless through negligence, other passages which were rendered literally in 1400. Words and phrases which were rendered faithfully in his first translation, Laurent made more concrete and vivid in his second in order to heighten his readers' interest.

The early *Du Cas* enjoyed little popularity compared with that of the 1409 translation. This view is supported by the fact that an extremely limited number of manuscripts and editions of the 1400 version are known to exist today. Scribes, editors, and scholars have for centuries devoted their attention to the second rendering. In view of the then current vogue of interlarding translations with innumerable extraneous passages, the 1400 version is unique for its extreme fidelity to the original Latin text. A comparison of the two translations with the Latin reveals two different methods of translation which have existed for centuries and which give an insight into the difficulties and pitfalls of the translator. How much freedom can a translator assume? Should he add interpretive passages to assist the reader or should he make a strictly literal translation? To what extent should he rephrase, in order to achieve a lucid style in his own language? Laurent's two versions of *De casibus* bring us face to face with these ageless problems in the art of translation and may be taken as useful warnings to modern translators.

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THE "AGES OF MAN" IN GOETHE AND GEORGE

By BRIAN A. ROWLEY

Stefan George's "Vogelschau," first published at the end of *Algabal* (1892), and later at the end of the volume in the collected edition containing *Hymnen*, *Pilgerfahrten*, and *Algabal*,¹ was intended by George himself to refer symbolically to his own poetic development as revealed in these three works.

Es wäre überflüssig zu erwägen [writes his friend and commentator, Ernst Morwitz], ob die drei ersten Strophen des Gedichtes die verschiedenen Kreise der "Hymnen", der "Pilgerfahrten" und des "Algabal" gesondert unschreiben wollen. Wichtig ist nur, daß jetzt ein Himmel winkt, unter dem nicht mehr wie in dem von der Phantasie geschaffenen Zauberwald der Tusferi, "der Weihrauch-bäume" Papageien und bunte Häher, sondern wieder Schwalben fliegen, und daß der Wind nicht mehr hell und heiß, sondern kalt und klar hier weht.²

Yet a poem which forms part of a larger whole—whether of a verse sequence, a drama, or a prose narrative with verse interludes—often differs in meaning when we read it as an independent poem and when we read it in its larger context. Sometimes, indeed, the poem will not stand removal from the context: this would be true, for instance, of the "Waldeinsamkeit" verses in *Der blonde Eckbert*. In other cases, it is viable in both situations; and poets have recognized this by including such interpolated lyrics among their collected poems. A poem of this kind often has a more circumscribed meaning in the larger context than when it stands alone. This is true of "Vogelschau": the poem itself contains no indication that the development it presents is a poet's progress; this more restricted meaning derives from the context at the end of *Algabal*.

Whether or not the individual stanzas are taken to refer specifically to the published volumes of George's verse, they cannot be reduced to a single formula such as "exotic picture with the magic of a strange name."³ Though this is appropriate to the second stanza, it will not fit all four, which clearly represent stages of some kind or other, arranged in a definite order.

VOGELSCHAU

Weisse schwalben sah ich fliegen·
Schwalben schnee- und silberweiss·
Sah sie sich im winde wiegen·
In dem winde hell und heiss.

¹ *Gesamt-Ausgabe der Werke*, II (Berlin, 1928), 123. I have unfortunately been unable to examine a copy of the rare first edition of 1892.

² Ernst Morwitz, *Die Dichtung Stefan Georges* (Berlin, 1934), p. 40; cf. Edwin K. Bennett, *Stefan George* (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 30, 38.

³ Jethro Bithell in the notes to *Anthology of German Poetry, 1880-1940*, 4th ed. (London, 1945), p. 251.

Bunte häher sah ich hüpfen·
 Papagei und kolibri
 Durch die wunder-bäume schlüpfen
 In dem wald der Tusferi.
 Grosse raben sah ich flattern·
 Dohlen schwarz und dunkelgrau
 Nah am grunde über nattern
 Im verzauberten gehau.
 Schwalben seh ich wieder fliegen·
 Schnee- und silberweisse schar·
 Wie sie sich im winde wiegen
 In dem winde kalt und klar!

Each stanza is devoted to a separate group of birds, and these groups are distinguished in a number of ways. The difference in color is perhaps the most striking. Stanza one is devoted to shades of white: though martins and swallows are in fact blue-black and white, George selects the whiteness revealed in flight as the distinguishing feature. In stanza two, the birds are all multicolored, and this principle of selection leads to the association of three birds which do not occur together in any part of the world.⁴ Stanza three is devoted to corvine black and dark gray; and four returns to the white of the swallows. The color differences are accompanied by differences in the motor imagery (the lilt of the swallows, the jerky movements of the second group, the heavy flapping of the ravens) and in the habitat (the open sky, the upper branches, and the thickets near the ground—though ravens are, in nature, birds of the hills). The differences between the birds also bring out those in the environment: the open sky of a temperate climate where the wind may be "hell und heiss" or "kalt und klar"; the tropical forest; and the dark, almost desolate thickets. Moreover, while the first and last stanzas are located in the physical world, the middle ones exist in countries of the mind: the second in the enchanting world of the fancy, a "white magic" world ("wunder-bäume," "Tusferi," and the unnatural grouping of the birds); the third in a bewitched, "black magic" world ("verzaubert," and the necromantic associations of "nattern" and the black familiars).⁵

⁴ Although parrots and hummingbirds both occur in South America, jays are confined to Europe and Asia.

I am grateful to Professor L. W. Forster for drawing my attention to the parallel between this stanza and Heine's "Bimini" (*Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Oskar F. Walzel *et al.*, III [Leipzig, 1913], 267-96). "Papagei und kolibri" occur, separately, in "Bimini" (pp. 273, 285); and George's rhyme "kolibri"/"Tusferi" is reminiscent of Heine's "Kolibri"/"Bimini" (p. 285). The meter, trochaic dimeter, is unusual for George, but it is the meter of "Bimini" and of many other poems by Heine and by earlier Romantics; and George's handling of it in this stanza, with the jerky polysyllabic words, is very like the style of "Bimini." Though George reacted sharply against the nineteenth-century verse tradition, he may have absorbed more from it than he would have wanted to admit.

⁵ It is curious that, in the manuscript reproduced in the *Gesamt-Ausgabe* (II, 137), line 12 reads "Im bezauberten verhaü." Is this simply a paraphrasis—"abatis," "entanglement" introduces a new idea—or does it represent an earlier draft, which George later revised to emphasize "verzaubert"?

These differences between the symbols are further emphasized by the formal differences between the stanzas. Although the meter is trochaic dimeter throughout, the rhythm is altered by changes in the length of syllable and in the consonants and vowels which predominate in each stanza. This can be seen even from a comparison of the average length of line in stanzas one to three. In one, the long lines, with their short vowels and short words but long syllables, enact the easy sweep of swallows' flight, and this is supported by the consonants *s, l, w*. In two, the rhythm is made jerky by the short lines of short syllables in longer words, and by the consonants *b, p, f*; while the high proportion of diphthongs and unusual consonantal collocations fits the fanciful scene described. In three, the longer vowels and the consonants *gr, t, d*, underline the dark colors and the heavy flight.

Although the poem's title suggests a "review of birds" (by analogy with *Heerschau*), its usual meaning is "ornithoscopy," the practice of augury by birds. But the reader does not need this hint of ambiguity to realize that the groups of birds so carefully contrasted are not presented solely or even primarily as birds, but are symbolic. The poem, in fact, is typically Symbolist: the symbols are selected to refer consciously to something beyond themselves—they are transparent rather than translucent—and they occupy the whole poem. Unlike symbols in the fullest sense, they are not allowed a life of their own at both levels, but must conform to a plan of communication prepared by the poet. The whiteness of the swallows, the variegated colors of the jay, the color and flight of the ravens, are emphasized at the expense of qualities outside the symbolic scheme, and this is a reason for the slight sense of strain we feel on reading the poem. In this respect, Symbolism occupies a position intermediate between the use of symbols and the use of allegory.

The emphasis on the symbolic birds is enhanced by the syntactical inversion with which each stanza begins, but they and their settings do not take up the whole of "Vogelschau." The world of the poem also contains a speaker who observes; and the change of tense in the last stanza suggests that these are successive experiences. From the distinctions outlined above, it is possible to indicate some of the qualities of these successive experiences, in the wider meaning which these take on outside the context of *Algabal*.

It might seem that the four stanzas could be identified with the four seasons; but this interpretation is forced, and in any case would not account for "wunder-bäume" or "verzaubert." Nor can they refer to different geographical countries, because of stanzas two and three. Their identification with different types of people would again be forced, and would also introduce an incongruity between vehicle and tenor that would be detrimental to the poem's effect. Each of these suggestions seems too detailed and too insubstantial to account for the poem's force. An important principle emerges here: we should

not make our interpretation narrower than the poem demands. We cannot give a more precise interpretation here than to say that the poem symbolizes certain stages in human experience; to be more precise would be to be less accurate. "Vogelschau," that is, belongs to a familiar type of poem which we may call the "ages of man." This interpretation is, of course, simply a statement in general human terms of the stages in poetic experience of George's intention in the context of *Algabal*; but it cannot properly be reached by direct generalization, only by way of the poem.

The first stanza presents an experience of the physical world which combines innocence, enthusiasm, and ease. The second gives an experience of an imaginary world which is kaleidoscopic, restless, and exotic. In the third, the world is again imaginary, but its strangeness is not simply that of unfamiliarity: the experience is that of the dark places of the mind. The fourth stanza returns to the world of the first, but the experience of it differs; in place of "hell und heiss," with its warm sensuousness, appears the cold excitement of "kalt und klar": the difference between the emotive element in "hell" and the more plastic "klar" is intensified by their alliterative couplings, "heiss" and "kalt." Another significant difference between stanzas one and four⁶ lies in the change (which is not dictated by the altered tense) from "Sah sie sich" to "Wie sie sich." "Wie" is ambiguous here: as an adverb of exclamation, it expresses the excitement of the final experience, also emphasized by the exclamation mark and by the absence of a pause at the end of the penultimate line; as a conjunction, it brings out the development from simple sensory perception, in the first stanza, to a more intellectual awareness or cognition in the final one. The "I" of the poem has traveled from innocent ardor, in the opening stanza, through the mental explorations of the middle stanzas, to return to the original scene, which is now experienced in a different way, with a more detached and conscious excitement which is the most highly valued of the four experiences.

A revealing comparison with this account of human development is provided by Goethe's poem "Um Mitternacht" (1818), another instance of the "ages of man," or "Lebenslied" as Goethe calls it.⁷

⁶ The change from "Schwalben" to "schar" appears to be dictated by the need for a rhyme to "klar."

⁷ In *Ueber Kunst und Alterthum*, III, iii (1822); see *Sämtliche Werke: Jubiläums-Ausgabe* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1902-7), XXXVII, 221.

Interpretations of "Um Mitternacht" have been published by H. A. Korff, "Vom Wesen Goethescher Gedichte," *Jb. Frei. Dtsch. Hochstifts* (1927), pp. 12-14; Karl Viëtor, "Goethes Altersgedichte," *Euphorion*, XXXIII (1932), 107-10; Max Kommerell, *Gedanken über Gedichte* (Frankfurt a.M., 1943), pp. 129-30, 132-34; Erich Trunz, "Goethes späte Lyrik," *Dtsch. Viertelj. Schr.*, XXIII (1949), 411, and, more fully, in Goethe, *Werke*, ed. Erich Trunz (Hamburg, 1948 ff.), I, 580-81. Its relations with other late poems, and with Goethe's feelings for Frau von Stein at this time, have been examined by Walter Hof, "Um Mitternacht: Goethe und Charlotte von Stein im Alter," *Euphorion*, XLV (1950), 62-65.

UM MITTERNACHT

Um Mitternacht ging ich, nicht eben gerne,
 Klein, kleiner Knabe, jenen Kirchhof hin
 Zu Vaters Haus, des Pfarrers, Stern am Sterne
 Sie leuchteten doch alle gar zu schön;
 Um Mitternacht.

Wenn ich dann ferner in des Lebens Weite
 Zur Liebsten mußte, mußte weil sie zog,
 Gestirn und Nordschein über mir im Streite,
 Ich gehend, kommend Seligkeiten sog;
 Um Mitternacht.

Bis dann zuletzt des vollen Mondes Helle
 So klar und deutlich mir in's Finstere drang,
 Auch der Gedanke willig, sinnig, schnelle
 Sich um's Vergangne wie um's Künftige schlang;
 Um Mitternacht.⁸

"Um Mitternacht," of course, does not employ a Symbolist technique: the development with which it is concerned is presented directly. Yet it uses symbols: the various types of light which are experienced are significant, not only as phenomena, but also at the symbolic level. Whereas in George the attention is directed through the birds to their symbolic meaning, in Goethe tenor and vehicle are held in equipoise.

As in "Vogelschau," one stanza is devoted to each experience. The three stanzas are distinguished by the age of the speaker, by his attitude of mind (timidity, excitement, clarity), and by the heavenly bodies seen. These grow in brilliance, but differ also in another important respect: the stars are experienced as discrete, the constellations and Northern Lights as corporate but conflicting, the moonlight as homogeneous and all-embracing. The changes in the speaker (subjective) are thus paralleled by changes in the phenomena (objective) and in the way these are experienced (subject-object relationship), and the poem's progression is complex.

Formal features reinforce these differences. The rhythmic contribution is not primarily due to variations in the vowel and consonant pattern within a regular meter, as in George's poem, but is brought

⁸ The text is taken from *Werke: Sophien-Ausgabe*, III (Weimar, 1890), 47. It is almost identical with that in *Werke: Ausgabe letzter Hand*, III (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1828), 52, which, however, has "ins" for "in's" in line 12. The two earliest editions, in C. F. Zelter's *Neue Liedersammlung* (Zürich and Berlin, 1821), pp. 6-7, and in *Ueber Kunst und Alterthum*, III, iii (Stuttgart, 1822), 170, print "ins" and "Seeligkeiten", and place a comma after "Stern am Sterne". Zelter's setting, in addition, has "gieng" and "Stern an Sterne", "um's" is printed "ums", and in each stanza the refrain, which is repeated, is separated from the quatrain by a full stop. The editors of the *Jubiläums-Ausgabe*, II, 220-221, print "ins" and "ums", remove the comma in "Klein, kleiner", and place a semicolon after "Pfarrers" and a comma after "Stern am Sterne", "ferner", "Weite", and the second "mußte"; this is too much punctuation altogether. Trunz, in his edition of the *Werke*, I, 372-73, adopts a text midway between the *Jubiläums-Ausgabe* and the *Sophien-Ausgabe*; but the latter seems closest to Goethe's final intention.

about by the addition, omission, or transposition of stresses. The basic line of five trochees, with anacrusis, lends itself readily to variation. In stanza one, stresses are added ("nicht ében," "Kléin, kléiner") or transposed ("Mitternâcht ging ich"), slowing the movement and breaking it up. In two, a stress is omitted ("féerner in des Lébens") or transposed ("Wénn ich dann"), accelerating the rhythm and conveying restlessness. Stanza three is metrically regular except for two transpositions ("Aúch der Gedánke," "Sích um's Vergángne") and the addition of an extra unstressed syllable in two feet ("Finstere," "Künftige"), which give a lilting dactylic flavor, but do not break the sweep. Important, too, are the syntactical changes, from the broken phrases of one (eight pauses) through the longer but still restless clauses of two (six pauses) to the flowing clauses of three (five pauses). Again, the choice of vocabulary matches the speaker's mind at each age: the childish "Klein, kleiner Knabe," "Vaters Haus," "Stern am Sterne," "gar zu schön," the dialect rhyme "hin"/"schön," and the unusual construction "jenen Kirchhof hin";⁹ the sensuous "Seligkeiten sog," the urgent motor verbs "mußte, mußte," "gehend, kommend," "zog" of early manhood; the more thoughtful but still sensuous language of mature old age, with the significance concentrated, as Viëtor (p. 107) observes, in the adjectives. Sound plays a relatively minor part in Goethe's creative technique: though the light vowels of the first stanza do illustrate the child, and the fuller, rounded ones of the last stanza the experience of maturity, yet the sound varies as much within stanzas as between them; it underlines what is being said in individual phrases, rather than differentiating the stanzas.

The relation between the stanzas also differs from that in "Vogelschau," though the basis—a progression through the stages of life—is the same in both cases. Because of their unrelatedness and the apparently unchanging observer, the first three stanzas of "Vogelschau" seem almost to present parallel or alternative experiences, rather than the successive experiences conveyed by "Um Mitternacht": where George represents change, Goethe's sequence is one

⁹ Dr. E. M. Wilkinson has drawn my attention to a second example of this construction, which occurs in the "Knabenmärchen" *Der neue Paris*, in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*: "Mein Weg führte mich den Zwinger hin..." (*Jubiläums-Ausgabe*, XXII, 58). *Der neue Paris* is close to "Um Mitternacht" in date of composition—according to Richard M. Meyer, "Einleitung," *Jubiläums-Ausgabe*, XXII, xiv, it was set down in its final form between 1811 and 1814—and in both cases the speaker is a child, experiencing an adventure which arouses excitement, awe, and a sense of mystery.

Grimm, *DWB*, s.v. *hin*, gives only two examples of acc. + *hin*, both from Goethe, and both from the Össian translations: "Stern der dämmernden Nacht, schon funkelst du in Westen . . . wandelst stattlich deinen Hügel hin" (*Jubiläums-Ausgabe*, XVI, 125), and "wie Frühlingslüfte den Hügel hin wechselnd beugen das schwach lispelnde Gras" (126). Grimm comments that the construction emphasizes the extent of the movement: "ganze ausdehnung der bewegung wird durch einen beigesetzten dativ gezeichnet, 'dem ufer hin nach der stadt,' besser aber durch einen accusativ." Such a magnification of external space would account for the appropriateness of the construction to a child's perception (though its use would not be confined to such contexts).

of growth. The child, hesitant, fearful yet delighted, perceives the midnight stars as unrelated phenomena. The lover, eager and in haste, sees in the heavenly bodies the conflicting polarity of his own emotional tension. The confident old man finds in the full moonlight the image of his own supple, sensuous thought, in which is embraced all experience, past and future as well as present. "Alter ist nicht Abstieg, sondern Steigerung."¹⁰ The organic relationship between the three stages is facilitated by the nature of the refrain with which Goethe connects his stanzas. In "Vogelschau," this link is provided by the main verb ("sah ich"), so that George is committed to a rigid parallel. Goethe takes an adverbial phrase of time which, as Kommerell points out (p. 132), lends itself to great flexibility in the syntactical handling of the stanzas. The effect of this flexibility in distinguishing the stanzas has been discussed above. Its role in linking them is examined by Kommerell (pp. 132-34; cf. Trunz, p. 581), who suggests that the line "Ich gehend, kommend Seligkeiten sog" is a further subsidiary clause after "wenn," so that the second stanza has no main clause; and that, since the "Bis dann zuletzt" clause in turn is without antecedent, the two stanzas are separate and yet linked, like the experiences they record, and the first is antecedent to the second. Moreover, Korff observes (pp. 13-14) that the parallels and sequence of the poem only become apparent when we arrive at the final stanza; our understanding of it also moves from darkness to clarity, and the poem itself enacts the displacement of darkness by increasing light, the unfolding of serenity which is its theme.

The differences between the two poets are aptly illustrated by this comparison of the two "Lebenslieder." George's technique is to vary visual images and verbal sound within an otherwise relatively rigid form. This crystalline hardness of outline is his outstanding technical characteristic, and the contrast it makes with Rilke's fluidity is a commonplace of criticism. It lends to George's poetry an immense formal authority which is, perhaps, just as much a part of the "stacheldraht wider unberufene" as is the personal punctuation: George cannot coax. At the same time, it denies some at least of the flexibility and subtlety of form which Goethe, with his characteristic variations of rhythm, syntax, and vocabulary, together with visual imagery and, to a lesser extent, sound, here and elsewhere achieves. And not only flexibility: it is as if Goethe creates in additional dimensions of which George makes no use. Moreover, the formal aspects on which George relies are just those which are most striking and most conscious; so that, although they make a powerful first impression, they tend to become less rather than more satisfying with wear, and to end by seeming contrived. This is true also of the Symbolist convention, with its studied use of symbols. Goethe's defense is organized in depth, and we do not penetrate and pass beyond it. If *Dichtung* is "dichte Sprache," Goethe's approaches more nearly the ideal.

¹⁰ Trunz, in his edition of the *Werke*, I, 580.

In content, too, Goethe reveals himself the subtler, truer, and more comprehensive poet. It might seem unfair to compare "Vogelschau," in which all the stages fall within the first half of life, with "Um Mitternacht" and its longer span; yet one can see the line of development each poem praises. George's speaker remains little changed throughout the poem; Goethe's grows and matures. George's speaker leaves behind the earlier experiences; Goethe's incorporates them, accepting past and future. George's speaker is an observer on the sidelines of life, a "voyeur" increasingly withdrawn from contact; Goethe's participates at every moment, increasingly active and increasingly involved up to the final tactile "sich schlang." Each poem culminates in a *Steigerung*: George's poem may be likened to a tower with windows which look out upon the world; the last window is above the first, but the air is colder and the world more distant. Goethe's final scene physically embraces the earlier experiences at a level which is more intense and less detached. These distinctions can be summed up in the differences between the pairs of adjectives by which the final value is conveyed: "kalt und klar" and "klar und deutlich." There will be moments when we experience the world with George; but to the experience which Goethe conveys we shall always return: "... das Lied: *Um Mitternacht* hat sein Verhältnis zu mir nicht verloren, es ist von mir noch ein lebendiger Teil und lebt mit mir fort."¹¹

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¹¹ Goethe to Eckermann, January 14, 1827.

STATISTICS IN SYNTACTICAL DESCRIPTION OF GERMAN

By BJARNE ULVESTAD

It is the mark of an educated man to look for precision in each class of things just as far as the nature of the subject admits; it is evidently equally foolish to accept probable reasoning from a mathematician as to demand of a rhetorician scientific proofs. (Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*)

Every scientific-theoretical method is first and foremost concerned with the general rather than with the accidental, be the latter ever so interesting. The accidental or deviational is of little or no importance when compared to the general picture, and the general picture can be arrived at through quantification procedures. Thus, we may regard most of the scientific laws in physics and biology, for example, as substantially statistical statements of very high validity, even though the nonabsolute nature of these formulations is often not explicitly mentioned. This is especially true in cases where the probability factor approximates 100 per cent. The methodological device of analysis, frequency computation, and subsequent analysis and/or synthesis is also useful in linguistics. It has been employed for deciphering cuneiform inscriptions, cryptograms, and the like for more than a century, and considerations of relative frequency patterns are indeed implicit in much of what we call structural or descriptive linguistics. It is, in my opinion, often nothing but dogmatic oversimplification when some linguists claim to be describing the structural parts of their corpora merely in terms of a discontinuous or discrete mathematics. Again and again it has been found that a linguistic description of a "code" that is defined only by possibilities and impossibilities of combination among its entities, whatever level, is too narrow. It is too arbitrary to be really useful, for example for pedagogical purposes, and what many linguists are apt to term, more or less derogatorily, vague traditional statements are often, depending on our purposes, preferable to their oversimplified modern "structural" counterparts.

In a short recent lecture¹ and a subsequent article,² I advocated the employment of a rather crude form of statistics in order to arrive at an empirical formulation of the systematic laws regulating actual usage within the boundaries that can be drawn by means of the current linguistic method of analysis. A further, closely related idea, which could only be hinted at in the article and whose logical and postulatory elaboration will be published elsewhere, pertains to the problematic de Saussurean *langue:parole* dichotomy. My suggestion

¹ "Complementary Structural and Statistical Analysis," 30th Annual Meeting of the LSA, Chicago, 1955.

² "An Approach to Describing Usage of Language Variants," *IUPAL*, Memoir 12 of the *IJAL* (1956), pp. 37-59.

is simply to define the *langue* as that portion of a given language which can be consistently described in a relatively low number of statements, each of which carries either absolute validity or high statistical validity,³ say 80-90 per cent or more. Everything outside of this system of linguistic regularities may then be regarded as belonging to the *parole*, by deliberate definition.

Since most languages manifest several more or less different levels of style,⁴ it follows that my definition necessarily includes the possibility of a hierarchy of *langue* part- or subsystems within a given language. Consequently, entities which are defined as part of the *langue* on a given style level may belong to the *parole* on another. For instance, the simplex conjunction *als* may be considered part of the *langue* in the German written standard, whereas the taxemically corresponding nonsimplex conjunction *als ob* more properly belongs to the *langue* of the spoken *Hochsprache*, in the so-called clauses of irreal or conditional comparison. Contrasting sentences are *er tat, als wäre er krank* and *er tat, als ob er krank wäre*.⁵ At least the conjunction *als* is largely restricted to one level (written standard style), whereas *als ob* admittedly does not manifest quite as neat a restrictional pattern.

On the other hand, various aspects of the *langue* may be found to belong to more than one level, and I believe that this is normally the case. Thus, as will be brought out later on in this paper, utterances such as *er schrieb, er sei krank* and *er wußte, daß er krank war* both belong to several style levels of German. The following two related utterances, however, may be regarded as belonging to the *parole*, because they are of very low relative frequency: *er schrieb, daß er krank war* and *er wußte, er sei krank*.⁶ We shall return to this below.

In the following, I shall discuss some corollaries of the above-stated theory that I trust will be of immediate interest to many teachers of foreign languages, particularly of German. For practical reasons, the

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 48 (n. 31), 55. Cf. U. Weinreich's interesting statement in his review of Hoijer, ed., *Language in Culture*: "This... raises... the... problem of reformulating the *langue-parole* dichotomy in terms of *langue* as a statistical rather than an all-or-nothing rule system." *Word*, XI (1955), 430. B. Malmberg comes very close to this interpretation of *langue*: "la stylistique est nécessairement secondaire par rapport à l'étude du système collectif... Pour avoir un sens, l'étude de l'individuel doit se faire en partant du collectif, du constant, donc: du système (la langue de Saussure)." *Till frågan om språkets system-karakter* (Lund, 1947), p. 26; italics mine.

⁴ For an advanced recent discussion of style, see K. L. Pike, *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior*, I (Glen-dale, 1954), 110 ff.

⁵ Written standard, *als*: 76.3 per cent, *als ob*: 17.5 per cent. In the spoken *Hochsprache*, the ratio *als*:*als ob* is reversed. Cf. my article, "The Structure of the German Quasi Clauses," to be published in the *Germanic Review*.

⁶ For a detailed discussion, especially with reference to the choice or non-choice of *daß*, see my article, "Gliedsätze mit oder ohne *daß* im modernen Deutschen," *Tijdschrift voor levende talen*, XXII (1956), 203-13.

discussion will proceed in a series of fairly simple and easily comprehensible solution-type operations, starting from more or less acceptable statements in a current grammatical handbook. It may be added on this point that there was no compelling reason to use this particular reference in order to demonstrate the operational method suggested here. I chose it only because some of its examples that are pertinent to the present discussion are directly comparable to similar ones which I have already recorded and organized in a corpus gathered for other purposes.

In 1952 the well-known French Germanist and linguist, Professor J. Fourquet (Strasbourg), published his *Grammaire de l'Allemand*,⁷ a modern reference work that has been enthusiastically reviewed on both sides of the Atlantic.⁸ While this grammar of current German *Hochsprache* is on the whole factually and pedagogically sound, it contains a number of syntactical rules which, in my opinion, can be proved to be unacceptable. Our basic problems to be "solved" here are chosen with reference to a few statements taken from Fourquet's book. The first of these problems concerns a demonstrably spurious assertion of nonoccurrence. The author is discussing what may be referred to as discourse sentences (DSs), i.e., compound utterances each of which consists of a governing clause (GC) plus an indirect clause (IC). A traditional example of such sentences is: *er sagte, er sei krank*. Fourquet writes as follows:

Si le verbe de la principale [clause] est à la 1^{re} personne et en présent, on ne peut pas employer le subjonctif dans la subordonnée, car celle-ci reproduit la pensée de la personne qui parle (1^{re} personne) au moment où elle parle (présent): *ich glaube, du bist krank* (*du seist* serait impossible ici). (p. 188)

The following two questions can be asked about this statement: (1) To what extent is the general rule of nonoccurrence on the part of the subjunctive valid? (2) To what extent is the rule valid about utterances basically identical with the example furnished here (i.e., the GC *ich glaube* ... plus various ICs, but all of them without the conjunction *daß*)?

In order to find an objective answer to these questions, a large corpus of DSs collected from thirty-seven modern German narrative prose works was consulted.⁹ For answering the first one, the following ratios for number of subjunctive ICs (*ich glaube, du seist krank*) to number of indicative ICs (... *du bist krank*) were established for all the DSs which contained one of these eight governing verbs (GVs) in the first person singular, present tense: *behaupten* 1:0, *meinen* 19:13, *glauben* 1:114, *erwidern* 1:0, *erklären* 1:0, *sagen* 6:5, *ver-*

⁷ Paris, 1952.

⁸ Cf. G. Tracy's review, *Monatshefte*, XLVII (1955), 56-59.

⁹ This corpus (about 7,000 DSs) is found in the Appendix of my dissertation, *Indirect Discourse in Modern German: A Structural Analysis* (Madison, 1954). Both the statistics used and the individual sentences cited are from this corpus, unless otherwise stated.

sichern 1:0, *denken* 4:18. In other words, the subjunctive occurs in 34 out of 184 ICs governed by such verbs. This is more than 18 per cent of all cases. Two of the examples included in this count are: *Ich denke aber, es sei in seinem Sinn, wenn ich ihn hier solange veretrete, wie es meine Pflicht ist* and *Und ich meine, es sei eine Spange ... oben am Mantel gewesen*. The conclusion must be that Fourquet's general rule is unacceptable. He fails to include in his description what Curme in his discussion of discourse sentences terms the subjunctive of modest statement.¹⁰ Curme writes as follows about this type of DS:

Indirectness here in connection with a present tense form of the subjunctive expresses quiet confidence in the truth of the statement. If...the indicative [were employed] here instead of the subjunctive the statement would have been more personal and subjective, not at all, however, more suggestive of certainty.¹¹

With regard to the second question, one must admit that Fourquet's statement makes somewhat better sense. The only pertinent DS (subjunctive IC after *ich glaube*) in our corpus may contain a so-called conditional subjunctive rather than one of indirect discourse as such (the kind of subjunctive cannot be established from the context): *fast glaube ich, der Angerührte müßte sogleich zum zweiten Male sterben*. However, in one of the DSs with *daß*-ICs, an unambiguous example of the subjunctive of indirect discourse is found: *Ich glaube zwar, ... daß es nicht notwendig sei für einen Menschen, erst Erfahrungen zu machen*. Therefore, one may conclude that the particular statement of absolute nonoccurrence of the subjunctive in zero-ICs after the GC *ich glaube* is probably also to be considered false, though obviously less so than the general statement. With regard to the latter, a simple statement of the much higher frequency of the indicative, about 82 per cent, would be a correct and adequate formulation with regard to the *langue*, in the definition offered above. Further refinement of the statement can be achieved by introducing the concept of grammatical tense as in contrast to its actual time reference. On closer examination from this added point of view it was found that some of the ICs whose subjunctive:indicative ratios are listed above occur in DSs whose present-tense GVs actually have (or may have) a past or future time reference, not a present one. This means that the validity of Fourquet's statement may be as high as 87 or 88 per cent. The basic conclusion, however, remains the same: his statement of usage is not true in yes/no terms.

It is, of course, extremely difficult to mark off a point somewhere close to the end of the percentage-validity continuum above which one can objectively claim to be dealing with facts of the *langue*, and the problem will not be discussed in this paper. However, one may

¹⁰ G. O. Curme, *Grammar of the German Language*, 2nd ed., 7th printing (New York, 1952), p. 235.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

feel safe in regarding statements which show a validity of between 80 and 90 per cent (or higher) as normally adequate for a description of the *langue*. These, plus the statements of 100 per cent validity, should constitute the descriptive basis and be included in grammars for beginning students. If considerably lower validity is found, it may be that the part-corpus covered by the rules or conclusions stated should be further subclassified for obtaining more valid, though necessarily more numerous, statements of usage.¹² It is at this stage of analysis that the definition of the happy medium between economic description and exhaustiveness or total accountability becomes crucial. We cannot enter into a discussion of this problematic desideratum here.

For a similar example of false assertions of nonoccurrence, one may refer to the following statement taken from the well-known Bloch-Trager textbook in linguistics: "Another subclass of nouns is defined by the fact that in the singular they occur either without a determiner or with a determiner of class A: *milk, fresh milk, the milk* (but never *a milk*); these are *mass nouns*."¹³ As a definition of mass nouns, this absolute statement does not hold. Mass nouns, such as *beer*, may occur, for instance in utterances such as *let us have a beer* or *give me a beer, will you?* Also, the construction *a milk* does occur, if the noun *milk* is used in a more technical sense, for example, in definitions in scientific treatises and the like. Still, one would have to accept the above definition by Bloch-Trager as being valid for the *langue*, if stated in such a way as to make explicit the restricted validity of the definition, though one must reject it as a statement claiming absolute validity.

While linguistic rules like the ones discussed above can in most cases be easily dismissed or just reformulated on the basis of readily available contradictory evidence, the treatment of the following one, taken from Fourquet's grammar, is of a more complex and problematic nature:

on peut toujours employer l'indicatif, en prose ordinaire, dans tous les types de subordonnées, avec ou sans conjonction. ... *Er schrieb, daß er krank war, et er schreib, daß er krank sei*, sont deux phrases également correctes, prises en dehors d'une contexte. ... En tout cas il est commode d'admettre que l'indicatif est la forme de base avec toutes les conjonctions, et que le subjonctif s'emploie facultativement pour marquer des nuances. (pp. 184-85; italics mine except for German examples)

This passage raises three main questions, pertaining to: (1) the alleged modal noninfluence of the conjunctions (in the examples given, *daß* and zero, i.e., no introductory conjunction); (2) the validity of the assertion of equal "correctness" on the part of the two types of mode; (3) the validity of the statement about the primacy of the

¹² Cf. p. 56 of the article cited above, n. 2.

¹³ B. Bloch and G. L. Trager, *Outline of Linguistic Analysis* (Baltimore, 1942), p. 78.

indicative and the concomitant facultativity of the subjunctive in discourse sentences of the kind illustrated by Fourquet's examples. Again, it must be admitted that the author is right, if our criteria are defined in terms of structural facts of occurrence *vs.* nonoccurrence only, but not if they are defined in terms of frequency in actual usage. We shall first discuss the regular choice of mode after *schreiben* (question 2) with a past time reference (i.e., this GV in the past and past perfect tenses), in order to obtain maximum comparability with Fourquet's examples. It is found that the ratios, the number of subjunctives to the number of indicatives in zero-ICs and *daß*-ICs, are 52:1 and 6:1 respectively. The one example of zero-IC with the indicative in my corpus is: *Philipp schrieb Pazos, man muß den Prozess besser führen*. Clearly, the IC of this DS lacks every conventional sign of subordination (person and/or tense change and the subjunctive mode); it is an example of what Behaghel terms *Gestalt der direkten Rede*,¹⁴ and might as well be considered a direct quotation.¹⁵ There is also only one example of a *daß*-IC with the finite verb in the indicative mode in my material: *Vasquez schrieb mir, daß alle Welt dich verdächtigt, daß...* This DS is clearly represented by its author (by means of quotation marks) as being spoken by a person in his book, and it may thus be considered an instance of more colloquial German usage, in which the subjunctive is not infrequently omitted, this obviously in contrast to the normal written standard. Whether a convincing or reasonable "explanation" of this deviational choice of mode can be found or not, our conclusion must be that the subjunctive is at present the mode found by far most frequently after such GCs as *Ich/er schrieb/hatte geschrieben*, and the fact that the indicative may well be equally "correct" in certain situational or extralinguistic contexts cannot be seen to have any significance in view of the overwhelming statistical predominance on the part of the subjunctive mode. That this numerical predominance of the subjunctive is related to the fact that the situational context favoring the choice of the subjunctive is the one most usually found, naturally cannot be denied. But as teachers of German we are fundamentally concerned with the regularities of the language and are best advised to postpone the teaching of irregularities of syntax and style until our students have rather full and easy control of the former, as indeed Fourquet states in the preface to his grammar (pp. 3-4).

Next, we shall consider questions (1) and (3), which may be conveniently treated together. In the tabulation below, *s* means the number of subjunctive ICs, and *i*, the number of indicative ICs. The

¹⁴ O. Behaghel, *Deutsche Syntax*, III (Heidelberg, 1928), pp. 605, 703. Note that E. Läftman in his large collection of German DSs does not list any instances of *schreiben* as a past GV introducing indicative ICs of either type. This material is to be found in his *Verbets modus i indirekt anföring i modern tyska* (Stockholm, 1919).

¹⁵ Behaghel, p. 703.

GVs are what Behaghel terms "indifferente Verben,"¹⁶ and these were chosen because they obviously pattern with the GV *schreiben*, or vice versa.

GVs (pt. & pt. perf.)	zero-ICs, <i>s:i</i>	<i>daß</i> -ICs, <i>s:i</i>
<i>behaupten</i>	22:0	2:0
<i>antworten</i>	26:0	2:0
<i>meinen</i>	99:1	12:1
<i>schreiben</i>	52:1	6:1
<i>glauben</i>	71:2	12:2
<i>erwidern</i>	6:0	2:0
<i>erklären</i>	74:2	15:1
<i>sagen</i>	233:5	52:17
<i>versichern</i>	9:0	6:0
<i>denken</i>	101:10	20:4
<i>erzählen</i>	37:0	17:2
<i>mitteilen</i>	8:0	4:1
<i>berichten</i>	8:0	7:0
<i>gestehen</i>	2:0	6:1
Additive ratios for <i>s:i</i>	748:21 (ca. 36:1)	163:30 (ca. 5:1)

From the tabulation, it will be seen that the conjunctions *daß* and zero are definitely to be considered factors influencing the regular choice of mode: in *daß*-ICs, the indicative is on the average found about seven times as often as in the zero-ICs, and this relatively high ratio difference certainly cannot be regarded as merely random. Consequently, it seems that the answer to question (1) can only be that unintroduced ICs are more apt to take the subjunctive than *daß*-introduced ICs, although both show very high preference for the subjunctive. This in turn means that Fourquet is wrong in equating the two types of ICs ("avec ou sans conjunction") with respect to choice of mode. Question (2) can also be answered with reference to the additive ratio figures in the tabulation above: there appears to be no reason whatsoever for following Fourquet in assigning a primacy to the indicative in discourse sentences with so-called "indifferent" GVs like *schreiben*, *meinen*, *erwidern*, *erzählen*, etc. The basic or unmarked mode, to employ the Prague School terminology, is here unquestionably the subjunctive, even by semantic criteria. The indicative must accordingly be called the marked mode, the mode that indicates special situation (e.g., assertion of the truth of the statement expressed by the IC) or may be explained with reference to unusual linguistic context (which, of course, would also normally indicate unusual situational context). The corroborative evidence for the general validity of this statement about the marked nature of the indicative in the type of DSs under consideration has been given elsewhere¹⁷ and need not be restated here. It should, however, be observed that the indicative is basic or unmarked, the subjunctive

¹⁶ Behaghel, pp. 590 ff.

marked, in DSs with, in Behaghel's terminology, the "objective" GVs,¹⁷ such as *wissen*, *erkennen*, *merken*, *begreifen*, *einsehen*, and *verstehen*. In indirect clauses of both types (zero-ICs and *daB*-ICs) dependent on such GVs, the indicative is overwhelmingly predominant.¹⁸ It is quite possible that the subjunctive may be considered the marked mode in the German language in general, or on a different level of description; but the distinction marked *vs.* unmarked has no real meaning unless stated about defined linguistic entities. The problem of the more general validity of Fourquet's statement is consequently not under discussion here.

The truly amazing confusion that is found in so many textbooks, grammars, and scholarly descriptions of German on points of syntax and syntactical usage can only be alleviated if the pertinent problems are tackled in the manner indicated above. Language is a statistically closed structural system, and word counts are at present justly considered indispensable tools for composers of foreign language textbooks. The time has come for a realistic appraisal of the possible theoretical and practical value and of syntactical and stylistic construction counts. It seems to me that the conclusions that could be derived from such empirical frequency studies might be of considerable influence not only on the teaching of foreign languages, especially on the lower levels, but on the theory and description of syntax in general, where problems as to the educational applicability of the results are of a minor importance.

In conclusion, I want to emphasize that it is not my intention to assign any panacean status to linguistic analysis on the basis of relative frequency estimates. The auxiliary nature of statistics as an analytical technique must always be kept in mind, for this discipline can only be brought into play after data have been assembled by other methods. It is my feeling, however, that statistics is of great usefulness in helping linguists to attain the Aristotelian ideal of scientific description: as much exactness as is fully compatible with adequacy of conception and clear perspective upon the problem in hand.

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¹⁷ Ulvestad (n. 2), p. 57.

¹⁸ Cf. Behaghel, pp. 585 ff.

¹⁹ Cf. my thesis (n. 9), p. 61.

THE VOCABULARY OF THE SURTEES PSALTER

By HENRY HARGREAVES¹

It has been suggested that a systematic study of the series of extant psalters in Old and Middle English would provide material for an investigation into the growth and development of the English vocabulary.² The present article may help toward such a study by examining the notable features of the vocabulary of one of these translations, that called variously the *Surtees Psalter* (by Wells), *An Early English Psalter* (in *NED*), the *Metrical Psalter* (by Muir), and the *Northern Verse Psalter* (in *MED*). This text derives from the borders of the Northern and East Midland dialect areas, and although the six extant manuscripts³ were all written during the first half of the fourteenth century, it is generally agreed⁴ that its composition dates from the second half of the thirteenth century. It is thus the earliest of the Middle English translations, antedating the *West Midland Prose Psalter* (ca. 1325)⁵ and Rolle's *Psalter* (ca. 1340)⁶ by some fifty years and the earlier Wycliffite version by 100 years. Its importance in the chain of psalter translations is therefore obvious.

The literary value of the translation is slight: the translator is content to turn the Latin of the Vulgate word for word into English, and the result is sometimes incomprehensible without the help of the original, and always unnatural and stilted; nor is it improved by his reliance upon a continual succession of rhyming tags—there are, indeed, many psalms in which every rhyme depends on their use. On the other hand, the vocabulary of the text is of considerable interest: Horstman in his editions speaks of "the archaic character" of the psalter;⁷ Sir William Craigie, too, mentions the "curiously archaic

¹ The author acknowledges with gratitude financial help from the University of Sheffield Research Fund in the preparation of this article.

² A. L. Muir, "Some Observations on the Early English Psalters and the English Vocabulary," *MLQ*, IX (1948), 273-76.

³ BM Cotton MS Vespasian D VII, Egerton MS 614, Harley MS 1770; Bodleian MS Bodl. 425, MS Bodl. 921; Cambridge Corpus Christi College MS 278.

⁴ *NED* dates ante 1300; see also E. Wende, *Überlieferung und Sprache der mittelhochdeutschen Version des Psalters* (Breslau diss., 1884), p. 1; Horstman's edition (note 7 below); and M. Konrath in Herrig's *Archiv*, XCIX (1898), 162. Wells, however, dates the composition of the text as 1300-50, and *MED* gives the manuscript date a1400, with no composition date (*Plan and Bibliography*, p. 63).

⁵ Published under the title of *Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter*, ed. K. D. Bülbring, EETS, OS, Vol. 97 (1891). Abbreviated as *WM*.

⁶ *The Psalter or Psalms of David... by Richard Rolle of Hampole*, ed. H. R. Bramley (Oxford, 1884).

⁷ *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole and His Followers*, ed. Carl Horstman (London, 1895-96), II, 130.

language,"⁸ and Huchon has noted a number of unusual words and phrases;⁹ but there has been no detailed examination of the vocabulary such as I intend to attempt here.

The features of the vocabulary which are of particular interest are: (1) its resemblances to the Old English glossed psalters, both in the occasional use of words rarely or never found elsewhere in Middle English and in the regular rendering of many Latin words; (2) the tendency to use native words other than those found in the Old English psalters to render Latin words which all other Middle English psalters translate by Romance words—apparently a deliberate avoidance of Romance words; and (3) the invention by the translator of new words, formed from existing English elements, to translate Latin words for which he knew no native equivalent.

The occurrence of some remarkable similarities between the *Surtees Psalter* and the Old English glossed psalters has already been noticed by Miss Dorothy Everett.¹⁰ To the examples she gives may be added the following, in which the Middle English word italicized is sufficiently rare to be worthy of comment.¹¹

	SP	OE
ix 40	Lauerd <i>ryke</i> in ai and in world ofc world sal he.	ricsað dryhten in ecnise Regnabit Dominus in aeternum. A
xi 4	<i>Pat</i> saide, "oure tunge <i>mikel</i> we."	ða cwedun tungan ure Qui dixerunt Linguam nostram we micliað magnificabimus. A
xxxvi 15	And <i>quelme</i> rightwis of hert ilike.	þæt hy cwymlen ryhtwise on heorte ut trucidant rectos corde. D
xxxvii 15	And <i>storest</i> speches (H stor-speches) in his mouth noght hauand.	na hæbbende on muðe his et non habens in ore suo. streorspreca (for steorspreca cf. increpationes. D ¹² xxxviii 12)
xxxviii 6	What me <i>wanes</i> þat wite mai I.	þæt ic wite hwæt wana sy me ut sciam quid desit mihi. C

⁸ *The Bible in its Ancient and English Versions*, ed. H. Wheeler Robinson (Oxford, 1940), p. 134.

⁹ *Histoire de la langue anglaise* (Paris, 1923-30) II, 188.

¹⁰ "The Middle English Prose Psalter of Richard Rolle of Hampole," Part II, *MLR*, XVII (1922), 348-49.

¹¹ All references are to Horstman's edition, abbreviated as *SP*. The Old English psalters used are: A—*Vespasian Psalter* in *Oldest English Texts*, ed. H. Sweet, EETS, OS, Vol. 83 (1885); C—*Cambridge Psalter*, ed. K. Wildhagen, Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa, VII (Hamburg, 1910); D—*Regius Psalter*, ed. F. Roeder, Studien zur Englischen Philologie, XVIII (Halle, 1904); E—*Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter*, ed. F. Harsley, EETS, OS, Vol. 92 (1889). F—*Stowe Psalter* or *Spelman Psalter*—is quoted from the notes to Wildhagen's edition of the *Cambridge Psalter*.

¹² D has here the reading of the Roman Psalter and the gloss upon it. *SP* is a translation of the Vulgate or Gallican Psalter, which here reads "redargutiones." It appears, therefore, that *SP* has taken over the gloss of D and applied it to a different word.

	SP	OE
xlvi 6	In strange <i>gaste</i> schippes of Thars <i>forthrist</i> saltou.	on gaste strangum forþræstynde in spiritu vehementi conterens scypu þæs landys naves tharsis. C
xlvi 12	Til vnwise meres <i>euenmete</i> es he.	efyngemetyn he ys neatum comparatus est iumentis unwisum insipientibus. C
lv 6	Mi <i>helespor</i> bihald þai sal.	hi hellspuran mine healdað ipsi calcaneum meum observabunt. C
lxi 3	Til þat ye <i>onrese</i> in man swa.	hu longe onraesað ge on men Quo usque inruitis in homines. A
lxvii 51	And to <i>lefeworme</i> þar fruite gafe he.	leafwyrme Et dedit erugini fructus eorum. F.
lxxvii 54	He sent in þam . . . <i>Insandes</i> for euermare.	Onsende on him . . . onsandes Inmisit in eos . . . immissiones. E
xcii 7	Pine wittenesses <i>leuelike</i> are þai.	cyþnessa þina geleaflica Testimonia tua . . . credibilia. D
xcvi 7	Alle schente be þat bidden <i>graues</i> .	syn gescynde ealle þa þe wurðiað Confundantur omnes qui adhorant græftys sculptilia. C
ci 7	Made am.i. als <i>nighte- rauen</i> in housefes esse.	geworden ic eam swe swe factus sum sicut næththrefn in husincle nocticorax in domicilio. A
cv 24	And <i>morkedene</i> with þair thoghte.	7 hy murnodon et murmuraverunt. D
cxiv 5	<i>mildeful</i> lauerd al And rightwise, and oure god <i>milse</i> sal.	mildheort dryhten 7 rehtwis 7 misericors Dominus et justus et god ur mildsað Deus noster miserebitur. A

Though *mikel* and *rike*, both verbs peculiar to this text, are the usual translations of "magnificare" and "regnare" in *SP*, some of the other words italicized above are not part of the normal vocabulary of the translator. *Forthrist*, for example, is unique, the regular translation of "conterere" being *brise*; *milse* is also unique, the regular translation of "misereri" being *haue mercy*, though *milthe* occurs seven times as substantive and verb; *murke* is used once and *grucche* (found also in *WM*, *Rolle*, and both Wycliffite versions) once to translate "murmurare." The similarities are therefore most striking and, when taken in conjunction with the list of similar length noted by Miss Everett, undoubtedly numerous enough to prove the existence of some connection between the Old English glossed psalters and *SP*. This means that *SP* is not to be regarded as an entirely independent translation; the suggestive force of his exemplar has been enough to

make the translator introduce into his own version certain words which were archaic or unrepresentative of the vocabulary of his time. It is even suggested by Horstman and accepted by Miss Everett that some of these may have been words which he himself had not properly understood.¹³

More frequent in the vocabulary of *SP* are those words, regularly used to render certain Latin words, which are found also rendering the same Latin words in one or more of the Old English glossed psalters. In compiling the following collection of examples, I have included only those instances in which *SP* and the Old English glosses use the same word and at least one of the later psalters, *WM* or *Rolle*, uses a different word. (The readings of the two Wycliffite versions, which usually have the same word as *WM* and *Rolle*, are not given in the following listings unless there is any significant difference. The earlier, or Hereford's, version is abbreviated as *EV*, the later, or Purvey's, as *LV*.¹⁴) Consequently obvious words, such as *hand*, *foot*, *come*, etc., which are in every translation of the Psalter down to modern times, are omitted, as also are words such as *wlate* "abominate," *stegh* "ascendere," *mynde* "memoria," which, though now obsolete, were the words normally used to express these concepts in Middle English. Of the 100 or more examples found, I have included only those which occur at least three times and can therefore be said to have a regular translation. In all the psalter translations under consideration there is a decided tendency to translate the same Latin word always by the same English; doubtful cases have been excluded. The examples fall into various classes.

(1) Sometimes *SP* has the same word as one or more of the Old English psalters, whereas *WM* and *Rolle* have a different word or words of native origin:

LATIN	OE ¹⁵	SP	WM	ROLLE
congregare	samnian	samen	gader	gadire
congregatio	gesamnung	samening	gaderyng	gaderyng
derelinquere	forlætan	(for-)lete	forsake	forsake
exaltare	uphebban	vpheue	heȝe	hegh
magnificare	(ge-)miclian	mikel	herie	worschip
notus	cūp	couth	knower	knawen
occasus	setlgang	setelgang	ȝe going down	settyng, the west
producere	forðlædan	forthlede	bring forth	bring forth
revereri	onscunian A	schone	drede, be ashamed	drede
stratum	straegl D	straile	bedde (couertour)	beddyng

¹³ Horstman, p. 130 n.; Everett, p. 349 n.

¹⁴ The edition used is *The Holy Bible...made by John Wycliffe*, etc., ed. Rev. Josiah Forshall and Sir Frederic Madden, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1850).

¹⁵ Except where otherwise stated, the word quoted from the Old English psalters is found in C at least, usually in the group ABC, and very often in all. Where another attribution is given, it means that the word is not found in C, but in one other psalter at least, and usually in several.

(2) Sometimes the same word appears in the Old English psalters, *SP*, and *Rolle*, whereas *WM* has a different word of native origin:

LATIN	OE	SP	WM	ROLLE
concludere	belucan	be-, ogain-, um- louke	shett	louke
declinare	on-, a-hyldan	held	bow	held
exitus	utgang	outgang	outgoing	outgang, passyng
inclinare	onhyldan	held	bowe, (encline)	held
intendere	behealdan	bihald	vnderstonde	behold
salus	hæl	hele	helpe	hele

(3) Sometimes the same word appears in OE and *SP*, whereas *WM* and *Rolle* have, the one a different native word, the other a Latin or Romance word:

LATIN	OE	SP	WM	ROLLE
cubile	in-, bed-cleofa	kleue	couch	den
nequitia*	nið	nith	wickidnesse	felony
possessio	æht	aght	habbyng	possession
regio	rice D	rike	kyngdom	rewn
regnum	rice	rike	kyngdom	regne, kingdom
species	wlite	wlite, fairhed	spece, grace	shap, fairhed

* Wycliffe, EV *shreudnesse*, LV *wickidnesse*

(4) In three cases OE and *SP* agree in using an Old English word, whereas *WM* and *Rolle* have a Scandinavian word:

LATIN	OE	SP	WM	ROLLE
adocere	geecan	eke	cast vp	tocast
apprehendere	gegripan	grip	take	take, (grip)
suscipere	onfon	onfang, kepe, nime	take	vptake

(5) As a rule, however, where *SP* and the Old English psalters agree in the use of a particular word, whereas *WM* and *Rolle* have a different word, such a word in the two latter will be found to be of Latin or Romance origin:

LATIN	OE	SP	WM	ROLLE
altare	weofod	weued	auter	auter
conculcare	fortredan	fortrede	defoule	defoule, (tred)
decipere	beswican	biswike	deceiue	desaife
delectare	gelustfullian	lust	delite	delite
delinquere*	agyltan	gilt	trespass	trespas
despicere	forseon	forse	despise	dispise
discedere	gewitan	wite	depart	depart
disciplina	lar D	lare	discipline	disciplyne
disponere	tosettan D	set	ordein	ordeyn
errare	dwelian	dwele	erre	erre
intrare	ingan	inga	entre	entir

LATIN	OE	SP	WM	ROLLE
introyre	ingan	inga	entre	entre, (inga)
iucundus	wynsum	winsum	ioiful	delitabil
labor	geswinc D	swink	trauail	trauail
laborare	swincan D	swink	trauail	trauail
liberare	alysan D	lese	deliuer	deliuer
malitia	yfelnisse D	iuelnes	malice, (wickidnes)	malice
multiplicare	manigfealdian	fele-, mani-fald	multiply	multiply
nocere	derian F	dere	anoie	noy
numerus	getael	tale	noumbre	noumbire
orare	gebiddan	bidde	praie	pray
oratio	gebed	bede	praier, orisoun	prayer
pati	bolian D	thole	suffer	suffir
patientia	gebyld	bild	suffraunce, pacience	paciens
perire	forweorðan	forworth	periss	perisch
placere	cweman D	queme	plese	plese
portio	dæl	dele	porcioun	porcyon
praeceptum†	bebod	bode	comaundement	cumaundement
pretiosus	deorwyrðe	derworthy	precious	precieuse
probare	afandian D	fand	proue	proue
proelium	gefeoh	fight	batail	bataile
rapere	gereafian	reue	rauis	rauysch, (reue)
substantia	aht, sped	aght, sped	substaunce	substaunce
tabernaculum	geteld	telde	tabernacle	tabernakil
terminus	gemære	mere	terme	term
tuba	byme	bcme	trump	trumpe
uter‡	bytt	bit, lome	gourde	gourde
votum	gehat	(be-)hate	(a-)vow	vow
vox	stefn	steuen	voyce	voice

* Wycliffe, EV gilt, LV trespasse

† Wycliffe, EV heste, LV comaundement

‡ Wycliffe, EV botel, LV bouge

More than half of the synonyms employed by *SP* on the one hand and *WM* and *Rolle* on the other exist side by side during the second half of the thirteenth century at least; *wlite* and *bild* are used for the last time, according to *NED*, in *SP*, as is *winsome* in the sense "gracious, kind"; no quotation later than *Lazamon* is given for *onfang* except in the sense "conceive offspring," for which references are given to *SP*. On the other hand, *plese* and *couch* appear to be used for the first time in *WM*, and a number of the Romance words, *trespass*, *ordeyn*, *praie*, *precious*, etc., are recorded for the first time in texts such as the *South English Legendary*, *Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle*, and *Cursor Mundi*, of the last decade or so of the thirteenth century. The general picture that emerges, therefore, is of the translator of *SP* retaining the native words that he found in his exemplar, even when these were a little old-fashioned, and making little use of Romance words, whether these were of long standing in the language as *auter* (*Ælfric*), *proue* (*Lambeth Homilies*), *bataile*

(*Owl and the Nightingale*), *delite*, *depart* (*Ancrene Riwe*), or comparatively recent introductions as *tabernacle* (*Genesis and Exodus*), *multiply* (*Proverbs of Alfred* in *An Old English Miscellany*). *WM* and *Rolle*, on the other hand, use far more Latin and Romance words. This is to a large extent to be expected, since, as O. Reuter has shown,¹⁶ the translator of *WM* was greatly indebted to a French version of the Psalter as well as to the Vulgate, and often introduces words from his exemplars into his own text. *Rolle* also frequently uses Latin words, admittedly to familiarize his readers with them; as he himself says, "In this werke I seke na straunge ynglis, bot lyghtest and comonest and swilk that is mast lyke til the latyn swa that thai that knawes noght latyn by the ynglis may com til mony latyn words."¹⁷

Another important aspect of the language of *SP* is the habit of the translator of rendering a Latin word, not by the native word used in the Old English psalters, but by a different word of native origin. This, as will be shown later, throws more light on the translator's method and on the state of the English vocabulary at the time of his translation. Some 70 examples of this occur, but only those are given below which are found at least three times each.

LATIN	OE	SP	WM	ROLLE
adfligere	swencean	twinge ¹⁸	torment	torment
alienus	fremede	outen ¹⁹	straunge	alien
apparere	æteowan	schewe	appere	appere
captivitas	hæftned	wrecchedhede, -nesse ²⁰	chaityf, chaityfnes	caytifte
concupiscere	gewilnian	yhern	couait	couait
confirmare	getrymman	fest	conferm	conferm
consilium	geþeah	rede	conseil	counseil
consolari	frofrian	rone ²¹	confort	confort

¹⁶ "A Study of the French Words in the *Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter*," *Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum*, IX, No. 4 (1938).

¹⁷ *The Psalter*, ed. Bramley, Prologue, p. 4.

¹⁸ *NED* enters this as a separate word from *twinge* v1 "to pinch, to wring, to cause to smart or tingle" and suggests that it originates either in a figurative use of *twinge* v1 or in some misunderstanding of earlier glosses. The latter is unlikely—there are no extant glosses of "adfligere" as *twengan*—and the new meaning may rather be the result of a deliberate extension on the part of the translator.

¹⁹ Presumably representing OE *utan* converted into an adjective, used even when the Latin adjective it translates is absolute—*For outen ras again me ma* "quoniam alieni insurrexerunt adversum me" (liii 3). The form *outened* "alienati" (lvi 3) indicates that the adverb was also converted into a verb.

²⁰ "Captivus" is rendered by *wrecche* once (cxxxvi 3); there is no recorded example in Bosworth-Toller or *NED* of the meaning "captive" for OE *wrecca*, yet this can hardly represent the generalized sense, "miserable, unhappy or wretched person." Perhaps the translator has given a new and extended meaning to an existing word, possibly, as Professor D. D. Griffith suggests, because *wrecca* "outcast" frequently becomes "captive."

²¹ *Rone* is recorded otherwise only in one passage in *Cursor Mundi*, in one manuscript as *rone* and another as *ro*, and with the forms *rufe*, *ruve* in sixteenth-century Scottish dialect. In *Cursor Mundi* it means "to recreate," in Scottish "to rest"; the meaning "to comfort" in *SP* appears to be unique.

LATIN	OE	SP	WM	ROLLE
conterere	forþræstan, forbryttan	brise	defoule	altobreke
conturbare	swencean, drefan	droue	truble	droue
dolosus	facenful	swikel	treccherous	treccherous
dolus*	facen	swikedom	trecherie, gilery	treson
hereditare	yrfeweardian	erde ²²	enherit	enherit
honor	ar	mensk, worschip	honur	honur
inimicus	feond	fa	enemy	enemy
innocens	unscyldig	vnderand ²³	innocent	innocent
ira	grama, yrre	wreth ²⁴	ire	ire
jubilare	herigan, dryman	mirth ²⁵	ioy	ioy
lacus	seað	slough, flaske ²⁶	lake	lake
natio	cneoriss, cynn	birth ²⁷	folk, nacion, kynd, cuntrey	nacion
mansuetus	manþwære	handtame ²⁸	milde	debonere
opprobrium	edwit	vpbraiding	reproce, -ocing	reproue
pascua	læs	fode ²⁹	pasture	pasture
persequi	ehtan	filigh	persue	folow, persue
praeualere	strangian, þeon, swyðrian	better ³⁰	be worthy, vail	be mighty, haue maistry
regere	gereccan	stere	gouerne	gouerne
reprobare	wiðceosan	schone	reproue, reproce	reproue
servus	þeow	hine	servaunt	servaunt
subditus	underðeoded	vnderlout ³¹	subiecte	soget

²² *NED* enters under *erde* v. 2 "to inhabit," citing *SP* (xxiv 14), and *MED* under *erden* v. (b) "to inhabit." It should rather be given as a separate meaning "to inherit," arising perhaps from a misunderstanding, perhaps from a deliberate attempt to extend the meaning of the word.

²³ This appears to be peculiar to *SP* and is probably one of the many words which are new formations in the text; see below, pp. 336-37. The participial form of the Latin is imitated in English, the negative prefix added, and the word so formed adopted as the regular rendering.

²⁴ *Ire* is found once (lxxvii 25), and appears as the first quotation in *NED*, s.v.; but since OE *yrre* would appear in this text as *irre*, the possibility of scribal confusion cannot be ruled out.

²⁵ The intransitive use of this verb seems to be peculiar to *SP*.

²⁶ *Slough* is used twice, *flaske* also twice, in the forms *flaske* and *flash*. Both in Middle English and in modern dialects the word is distinctively Northern; this is the earliest use recorded in *NED*, or in literary use in *MED*.

²⁷ The most frequent of a number of etymological translations.

²⁸ First recorded in *SP*: perhaps based on a translation of the Latin, but used also in later original texts, apparently mostly from the northern half of the country.

²⁹ Whether an etymological translation of the type of *birth* "natio" or an attempt to extend the meaning of the existing word *food*, this makes very poor sense in passages such as: *And we folke ofe his fode in land / And þe schepe ere ofe his hand* "Et nos populus pascuae eius et oves manus eius" (xciv 7).

³⁰ Recorded in an intransitive use only from *SP*.

³¹ A verb *underlutan* is recorded in Old English, but this seems to be the earliest use of an adjective.

LATIN	OE	SP	WM	ROLLE
subjectus	underðeoded	vnderlaid	subiecte	soget
sustinere	aræfnian	vphald	sustein	suffer
testamentum	cyðnes	witeword	testament	testament
tribulare	swencean	droue	truble	droue, angir
virtus	mægen	might	vertu	vertu
visitare	(ge-)neosian	seke	visit	visit

* Wycliffe, EV trecherous, trecherie, LV gileful, gile

Two conclusions would seem to follow from a consideration of the preceding. First, the translator evidently had a decided preference for native words over Romance words. Second, this preference was so strong that he was prepared to extend the meaning of a native word rather than borrow from French or Latin. An attempt to reconstruct the translator's method may be useful, if necessarily hazardous. When confronted in his exemplar by an Old English word which he did not wish to retain—presumably because he regarded it as obsolete—there were various ways in which he might proceed, not all of which would be possible in every case. He could take over either an existing native word or a well-established loan-word; he could adopt the Latin word of his original and so introduce a new loan-word into the language; he could employ a native word in a new sense; or finally he could invent an entirely new word. The last possibility he frequently uses, as will be seen later; for the others, it is remarkable how infrequently he uses Romance words. It would not be true to say that he never has them—there are in the text some 50 words of Latin or Romance origin, including four, *barbery*, *quiuer*, *squat*, *gutter* (all used once only) which may have been introduced by him, and a larger number, *cry*, *face*, *grees*, *irchon*, *order*, *porche*, *razor*, *sauf*, *slander*, *solemnite*, *stubble*, which are first recorded in *NED* from texts of the later thirteenth century. Nevertheless, there is a strong contrast between the usage in *SP* and that in *Cursor Mundi*, a text of approximately the same date, from roughly the same dialect area, and dealing with similar material. It is not exactly a translation, but tells many of the Bible stories and depends closely on Latin and Romance sources. The author of *Cursor Mundi* uses many Latin words and apparently introduces some of them into English—*enemy*, *nacioun*, *pasture*, *testament*, etc. The translator of *SP*, on the other hand, prefers to use native words in a new and extended sense, as *better*, *erde*, *mirthe*, *outen*, *wrecchedhede*; to introduce new words from his own dialect, as *droue*, *flaske*, *rone*; or to give arbitrarily to the English word the same signification as the Latin has, as for *birth*, *fode*.

The different methods used by Rolle when faced with similar difficulties are significant. Miss Everett has shown³² that Rolle himself did not make a complete translation *de novo*, but relied to some extent

³² *MLR*, XVII (1922), 337 ff.

upon an earlier translation or gloss of some kind; though she rejects the idea that Rolle used *SP* itself, she sees enough resemblances to suggest that both translators had some help from the same glossed psalter. Many of the native words of his exemplar Rolle discarded, and substituted for them Latin loan-words, often apparently introducing these into the language.

A third noteworthy feature of the vocabulary of *SP* is the large number of new formations which appear there. It would seem that there were for the author a number of living roots and affixes which he could combine into new words at will. He frequently makes use of this power in the translation of Latin compound and derivative words. Sometimes the new word so created is one used by later writers also, which thus becomes part of the ordinary English vocabulary; sometimes the new formations remain apparently uncopied and unique.

The largest group of these new formations consists of verbal substantives in *-ing*. The great extension in the use of these forms seems to have originated in the North; *SP* is the first text in which any considerable number are to be found. In *SP* verbal substantives are not, as in Old English, confined to verbs of rest and motion, but can be formed from any verb. For the most part, they render Latin abstract nouns in *-io*; only those which apparently occur for the first time in *SP* are given below.²³ For those used more than once, the number of times each occurs is noted. The list is: *biseking* "deprecatio" (14x), *crauing* "calumnia," *deltaking* "participatio," *drouing* "tribulatio" (36x), *dounfalling* "praecipitatio," *filling* "saturitas," *forbisening* "parabola" (2x), *forbreking* "contritio" (2x), *forgraiping* "praeparatio" (3x), *forhiling* "protectio" (4x), *forleteing* "despectio," *forsetting* "propositio," *foryhelding* "retributio" (9x), *(in the) griking* "diluculo" (6x), *grippinges (of)* "anceps," *hemming* "fimbria," *insleing* "refugium,"²⁴ *mighting* "potentia" (4x), *mirthing* "jubilatio," *neding* "necessitas" (6x), *opportunitas* (2x), *reuing* "rapina," *sliping* "lapsus," *snibbing* "inrepatio" (6x), *phraying* "castigatio," *(in) vghtening* "matutino" (2x), *vnderganging* "supplantatio," *vnfulmaking* "imperfectum," *vrling* "ora," *welqueming* "beneplacitum," *welsetting* "ordinatio."

There are here some obvious contrasts with the usages in *WM*, in Rolle, and in the Wycliffite versions. Rolle uses a considerable number of verbal substantives, though naturally forming them from his usual verbs; thus he has *challengeyng* "calumnia," *praiyng* "deprecatio," *ioiyng* "jubilatio," *supplantyng* "supplantatio." He also uses some words adopted direct from the Latin: *ordynaunce*, *parabole*, *proposition*, *tribulation*, and occasionally a different native word: *myght* "potentia," *tidfulness* "opportunitas." *WM* has fewer verbal substan-

²³ Here, as elsewhere, *SP* is assumed to be earlier than *Cursor Mundi*.

²⁴ Found only once in MS Vespasian (cxliii 2); very frequent in the other manuscripts.

tives and more Latin and Romance words: *chaleunge* "calumnia," *contricioun*, *praier* "deprecatio," *despite* "despectio," *defens* "protectio," *refut* "refugium," etc. The Wycliffite versions naturally approach more closely to the Modern English, with more Romance words: *protection*, *iubilacioun* (EV only), *contricioun*; more common English words: *erly* "matutino," *nede* "opportunitas" (EV); but also with a number of verbal substantives still; *gelding* "retributio," *part taking* "participatio."

Another favorite suffix in SP is *-nesse*. This is, of course, that most commonly used in Old English in forming abstract nouns, and a number of the Old English formations are retained in SP, both of common words like *dimnes* "caligo," *forgetelnes* "oblivio," and rarer words like *forletenesse* "despectio," which is not recorded elsewhere in Middle English. The author also creates what seem to be new words on the same pattern: *betternes* "benignitas," *deuelnesses* "daemonia," *ferdenesse* "formido," *frendsomenes* "benignitas" (2x), *groundstapelnes* "fundamentum," *halihingnes* "sanctificatio," *handtamenes* "mansuetudo," *mightsomenes*³⁵ "abundantia," *milthnes* "misericordia," *neghtsomenes* "propitiatio," *outscherandnes* "excusatio," *outweringnes* "abusio," *quednes* "impietas," *radnes* "terror, timor, formido," *schonignes* "reverentia," *sighingnesse* "gemitus," *stapelnes* "stabilitas" (3x), *taryingnesse* "irritatio," *vnderandnes* "innocentia" (8x), *vnnaitnesse* "vanitas" (3x), *vnronyngnes* "desolatio," *vnwit-andnesse* "ignorantia," *welequemeness* "beneplacitum," *wemmedness* "corruptio."

The third common nominal suffix with which the translator builds up his new words is *-hede*: with this he forms *drihed* "siccitas," *folhed* "plenitudo" (5x), *geldehede* "sterilitas," *hinehede* "servitus," *kaldhed* "refrigerium," *littelhed* (of *gast*) "pusillanimitas," *manihede* "multitudo," *mastehede* "majestas" (3x), *mighthede* "abundantia," *mikelhed* "magnitudo" (5x) "multitudo" (18x), *notefulhede* "utilitas."

The other Middle English psalter translations differ greatly from SP in translating Latin abstract nouns. Only very occasionally is there found a word such as *vnconandness* WM *unkunynyngnes* EV "ignorantia," formed by the piece-meal translation of the various elements of the Latin. Well-established compounds such as *fulnes* WM, Rolle, LV "plenitudo," *gretnes* WM, EV, LV "magnitudo," *goednes* Rolle "benignitas," are more common; sometimes a simple native word is used: *deuyll* Rolle, EV, *feend* WM, LV "daemonium," *drede* WM, Rolle, EV, LV "formido." Quite frequently, however, the Latin word is taken over: *aboundance* Rolle, EV, *abusion* WM, Rolle, EV, LV, *indignacioun* WM, EV, LV, *maieste* WM, Rolle, EV,

³⁵ This may, as NED suggests, be a misreading of an early ME **inihtsomnes*, representing the *gemihtsumnes* of the Old English psalters. But elsewhere the translator creates *mighthed* "abundantia" (cxliv 7), for which no OE **gemihthad* exists; he obviously understood the root *might-* to mean "abund-", whatever the source of his belief may have been.

LV, *service* WM, Rolle, EV, LV, etc.; occasionally a hybrid is formed from a Romance root and a native suffix: *stableness* WM, Rolle, EV, LV "stabilitas," *debonereness* EV "mansuetudo"; more often a Romance loan-word is used: *desconforte* WM "desolatio," *dedeyn* Rolle "indignatio," *mercy* LV "propitiatio," *doute* WM "timor," *profit* WM, EV, LV "utilitas." In none of the later versions is the tendency toward literal translation anything like so common as in *SP*.

Newly formed derivative adjectives, though not so common as nouns, are also to be found in *SP*, where they are always used to render Latin derivative adjectives. The largest class is of words in *-like*, usually translating Latin adjectives in *-abilis* or *-ibilis*. Examples are: (*sal be*) *besekandlike* "deprecabatur" (*deprecabilis* erit?), *heri-handlike* "laudabilis," *ledandlike* "ductilis," *methfullike* "mensurabilis," *mightlike* "potentissimus," *sanglic* "cantabilis," *vnfillandlike* "insatiabilis," *vntholandlike* "intollerabilis," *yornandlike* "desiderabilis" (2x). Others are in *-ful*: *blithefulle* "jucundus" (2x), *brodefulle* "fetusus," *fruitefulle* "fructiferus," (*I am*) *methful* "dormivi," *vnnoteful* "inutilis" (2x); and in *-some*: *frendsosome* "benignus," *neghsome* "propitius," *nightsome* "abundans."³⁰

A number of new words are created by the extensive use of prefixes; sometimes it would appear that the author is able to form a new word by translating literally the various elements of any compound Latin word. Certainly some of these compounds differ little, if at all, from the simple word in meaning: *graiþe* renders "parare," but *forgraiþe* "praeparare"; *hile* renders "tegere," but *forhile* "protegere." Nor are the new compounds used consistently: "insurgere" is usually translated by *rise*, but can be *inrise*; "invocare" is usually translated by *kalle*, but can be *inkalle*. Many of the words so formed have parallels in other Middle English texts; it is only their concentration in *SP* that is notable. The following examples include some forms used many times as well as those used only once: *afterblismed* "postfetantes," *againnekalle* "revocare," *ogainlouke* "concludere," *ogaineraas* "occursus," *ogainsagh* (3x) and *againesaing* "contradictio," *ogaintorn* "redire," *ogaynewend* "converti," *betwixfalland* "intercidentis," *douneschere* "excidere," *dounecaste* "dejicere," *forgraiþe* "praeparare," *forhile* "protegere," *forsetting* "propositio" (2x), *forwerpe* "projicere" (3x), *indronken* "inebriare," *infat* "impinguere," *infight* "impugnare" (2x), *inkall* "invocare," *inlead* "inducere," *inlogh* "inflammare" (2x), *inras* "incursus," *inrise* "insurgere," *insend* "immittere," *inset* "imponere," *instep* "investigare," *inouer* "insuper," *ilhope* "susplicere," *iltorn* "pervertere," *nouwhat* "numquid," *onelote* "oblatio" (2x), *onesprute* "inspiratio," *outdriue* "expellere," *outend* "exterminare," *outloted* "absorpti," *output* "repellere," *outscere* "excusare," *outscheþe* "evaginare," *outschouue* "evellere," *ouermostes* "superiora," *ouer tomedede* "supervacue" (3x), *ouer-*

³⁰ But see note 35.

swelyhe "absorbere," *thorghyhode* "perambulabam," *twifald* "distinguere" (2x), *vmga* "circumire," *vmgiue* "circumdare," *vmgripe* "anticipere," *vmklippe* "complecti," *vm louke* "concludere," *vmshadow* "obumbrare," *vmstanding* "circumstantia," *vm tiffed* "circumornatae," *vnderand* "innocens" (10x), *vnrone* "desolare," *vnknawen be* "innotescat," *vnlastes* "induret," *vmwatred* "inundaverunt," *vmwelde* ? (1xx 10), *welequemand* "beneplacentes," *welesette* "disponere," *wiperthret* "adversarius," *wiperword* "verbum asperum."

This examination of the vocabulary of *SP* has shown such a number of survivals of archaic words, such a noticeable avoidance of Latin and Romance words, whether well-established or of recent introduction, and such a concentration of new formations and literal *ad hoc* translations that the conclusion becomes apparent that it is of more interest than has yet been realized. To draw attention to the archaisms, as has been done, is useful but may be misleading if it involves neglecting those words which, though representative of an older method of word formation, are yet new creations in this text. In fact, not the least point of interest in the vocabulary is the possibility it discloses of such new words being invented so copiously during the Middle English period. But it would certainly appear that the vocabulary in use in the text is quite untypical of its age. It seems almost as if the translation were the work of an early purist, concerned to keep his pages as free as he could from the taint of foreign words, and anxious to supply the deficiencies of the language in his time by employing words of native origin, as well those now obsolescent as those still in common use and others such as he could himself form from existing roots and affixes. It follows, then, that in any historical survey of the English vocabulary as revealed by the early translations of the Psalter *SP* must be used with caution. Although the translator may sometimes indicate, by the changes he makes, that he regards certain words as obsolete, he is obviously of such an eccentric character that his evidence cannot be relied on. It cannot be assumed that because a word occurs regularly in *SP* it is necessarily the ordinary word to express the desired idea in the thirteenth century; conversely, the absence of a Latin or Romance word from *SP* does not mean that it was unknown or not frequently and regularly used at the time of the translation.

One further point emerges from the discussion. It is reasonable to suppose that so many unusual features in the language of a text must have made it appear somewhat strange even to contemporaries. Though we know of no contemporary comments which definitely refer to *SP*, Rolle's remark in the Prologue to his *Psalter*, "I seke na straunge ynglis . . .," has already been noted. Such a phrase is unusual from the pen of a translator of that time. It is not uncommon for a translator like Purvey or Trevisa to explain in his preliminary remarks to the reader how he intends to translate "aftir the sentence and not

oneli aftir the wordis,"²⁷ or in such a way that "the menyng shal stande and not be chaunged,"²⁸ and Caxton in the next century always talks of the "rude and simple" English of his translations;²⁹ but so pointed a disclaimer of "straunge ynglis" is unparalleled. Moreover, it is apparent from the continuation of his remark, "bot . . . swilk that is mast lyke til the latyn," that Rolle cannot be thinking of a strongly Latinate vocabulary as being strange language. Is it not, then, possible that when writing these words Rolle had in mind the language of that earlier translation of the Psalter which, in view of its origin and preservation on the borders of the Northern and East Midland dialect areas, he could easily enough have seen and have come to know? If his reference is indeed to *SP*, we must reconsider whether the remarkable similarities between it and Rolle's own *Psalter* which Miss Everett adduces are not, after all, due to a direct reliance of the later writer on the earlier, and not, as she was led to suggest, to the use of a common source.

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²⁷ Purvey's General Prologue in *The Holy Bible . . . by . . . Wycliffe*, ed. Forshall and Madden, I, 57.

²⁸ *Epystle of Sir Iohan Trevisa, chapelayn unto Lord Thomas of Barkley, vpon the transclacion of Polycronycon into our Englysshe tongue*, Caxton's edition of the *Polycronicon*, sig. 14, as quoted in the *Polycronicon*, R.S. (London, 1865), I, lxi n.

²⁹ For example, in *Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton*, ed. W. J. B. Crotch, EETS, OS, Vol. 176 (1928), pp. 6, 13, 58, 62.

SIR STEPHEN LE SIEUR AND SIR PHILIP SIDNEY

By LISLE CECIL JOHN

A little-known figure whose early career is associated with that of Sir Philip Sidney is Stephen Le Sieur, for some years his secretary. Le Sieur's later career as English agent in several countries, and, as Sir Stephen, ambassador to Germany, has been studied by E. A. Beller in his "Negotiations of Sir Stephen Le Sieur, 1584-1613" (*EHR*, XL [1925], 22-23), but it was not within the province of Beller to note some biographical details to be found in printed sources as well as in the Docket Books of the Signet Office, in wills, and in chancery proceedings. The earlier account of Le Sieur in the *Dictionary of National Biography* is both inaccurate and incomplete. Neither gives any facts after 1630, even though Le Sieur's will was not proved until 1638.

The only biographer of Sir Philip Sidney who has noted his association with Le Sieur is Malcolm Wallace, who identifies him (p. 384) as the "Steven" of Sidney's will. But Wallace does not point out that he is also the "Stephen" mentioned in two of the surviving letters of Sir Philip and in one of Sir Henry Sidney. No one has extracted from the *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, the events that explain Sidney's concern for "poor Steven," in prison in Dunkirk, to whom he left money in his will to free him. Nor have the letters of Le Sieur been known, as they deserve to be, for their own sake.

When or why Stephen (or Étienne) Le Sieur came to England is not known, but, according to his own account to Robert Cecil, it must have been by 1575. In reply to a comment of Cecil's in 1597 that he was not the Queen's "natural subject born," Le Sieur wrote that it was then "two and twenty years at the least sithence I became willing, in as much as I might, to be her Highness's faithful subject," and that, although Geneva was his birthplace, he had, by letters patent of denization and Oath of Supremacy been confirmed her subject.¹ (The grant of denization entered him as gentleman, from the free city of Geneva, born in the Savoy.²) That he was a Calvinist is shown by incidents during his stay in Germany in 1613-1614 as ambassador.³

Nor is it known when Le Sieur came into the service of the Sidneys, but the earliest reference to him shows him already so employed. A letter from Hubert Languet to Sir Philip Sidney, written in Ghent on January 13, 1579, says "Tuus Stephanus fuit nobis omnibus

¹ Hist. MSS. Comm., *Salisbury*, VII, 521.

² W. A. Shaw, *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens, 1603-1700*, Huguenot Society, XVIII (1911), 34.

³ Hist. MSS. Comm., *Downshire*, IV, 294; *State Papers, Venetian*, XIII, 50, 99.

gratus."⁴ The inference is that Le Sieur, who was always referred to by the Sidneys as Steven, or Stephen, had been sent, as we know he was later, to the Continent to take money and messages to the young Robert Sidney, who was traveling there. The next mention of Le Sieur is also in a letter of Languet, this one sent after a visit in England. On his return, Robert Sidney had come to Flushing to meet him, and traveled in his company to Strassburg, where Languet arranged a tutor and lodgings for him. During the journey, Languet wrote Philip Sidney from Cologne (April 17, 1579): "Non dubito quin tuus Stephanus tibi significaverit nos Antwerpia discessisse 18. die superioris mensis."⁵ Apparently Le Sieur had accompanied Languet at least as far as Flushing, again taking Robert Sidney his allowance.

Le Sieur is the "Stephen" mentioned in a letter from Philip Sidney (October 18, 1580) to Robert Sidney, still in Strassburg. He was, he told his brother, writing in haste: "Stephen can tell you who stands with me while I am writing." He promised to send him, "with God's help," his "toyful books" by February, "at which time you shall see your money. . . . My Lord of Leicester sends you forty pounds, as I understand, by Stephen. . . . Now Sir, for news I refer myself to this bearer."⁶ The letter opens conjectures not only as to which of Sidney's books were the toyful ones of 1579, but also as to whether Le Sieur was employed in making transcripts, say, of the *Arcadia*, or whether any manuscripts of Sidney's works in his hand survive.

Le Sieur is also the Stephen mentioned in a letter of Sir Henry Sidney to his son Robert which appears to belong to 1580⁷ saying that he was sending his allowance by Stephen—and a stern warning to live within it. There are no other references, apparently, in letters of the Sidneys until Le Sieur's imprisonment in 1585 at Dunkirk, when Sidney asked Walsingham for aid in freeing him. The chief reason for this is that in 1581 Le Sieur was given the first of his many missions to the Continent when Walsingham sent him to treat with the captors of the English diplomat Daniel Rogers.

Rogers, who had been sent to the Duke of Saxony about the German Lutherans, was taken captive at the request of Philip of Spain by the Duke of Anholt and others. Languet had urged upon Sidney the need for the English to intervene, and Walsingham, in

⁴ Hubert Languet, *Epistolae*, ed. Hailes (1776), No. LXXIII, p. 214. Hailes does not identify Le Sieur, merely listing "Stephanus" in his index.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. LXXVI, p. 223. Neither letter is included in the selections translated by Stewart A. Pears in his *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet* (London, 1845).

⁶ Arthur Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State* (1746), I, 283-85. Merely listed in Hist. MSS. Comm., *L'Isle and Dudley*, II, 94. Collins does not identify Stephen Le Sieur in his first volume, and, although he lists him in his second volume because of his name in letters from Rowland Whyte to Robert Sidney, seems never to have connected the Stephen of the letters and Sidney's will with Le Sieur.

⁷ Hist. MSS. Comm., *L'Isle and Dudley*, II, 95; Collins, I, 271.

sending Le Sieur, perhaps because of his linguistic abilities, may have been moved by the appeals of both Sidney and Languet. Le Sieur was first employed on this mission from May, 1581, to October, 1582. Throughout the extensive correspondence in the *State Papers, Foreign*, he is variously referred to as Sidney's Stephen, Stephen, Sidney's man Stephen, Lisiture, Étienne Le Sieur, etc. Le Sieur sent all his first reports to Walsingham in French and signed himself Étienne Le Sieur. After 1582 the letters are in English and signed Stephen Le Sieur. He returned to England between negotiations, and one of his letters written as Sidney's secretary survives. Written in French, it was sent from Ramsbury, a seat of the Earl of Pembroke, in Sidney's name to Archibald Douglas, presenting compliments and asking how things were in Scotland.⁸

The negotiations for Rogers dragged on, and it was not until January, 1585, that he was freed. Rogers attributed part of the delay to Le Sieur's lack of effort, and one of his complaints to Walsingham said that had Le Sieur "occupied his spirits" half as much in procuring his liberty as he had in trying to "make marriage" with a lady attending the Duke's daughter, he had been freed long before. Le Sieur had gone to Antwerp, where Rogers thought he would "pass a marriage" with a widow—"I fear me he will prove but a slippery Frenchman." Le Sieur, on the other hand, had serious trouble with Rogers over money advanced for him as agent for the government, and his letters to Walsingham sound more convincing than those of Rogers. But Walsingham seems to have been influenced by Rogers' complaints, for he made no replies to letters from Le Sieur, who was left stranded on the Continent until he was offered employment by Morgan, a colonel of an English regiment in the service of the Dutch. (Morgan, for whom he seems to have acted as secretary, wrote of him as Stephen Le Sieur, Sir Philip Sidney's servant.) Le Sieur, reporting to Walsingham Morgan's request that he aid him, asked that he excuse him "to my master for not writing at this present." When no replies came from Walsingham, Le Sieur wrote that, "having been here so long, the ways being so dangerous, and my means so small, I think best (unless I receive orders from you or my master) to remain here till things take another course." In August he wrote that Morgan and he had been given passports to go to Parma's camp, but he was in debt and did not know how he could leave "unless you and my master send me some money to Middelburg." Shortly after, Parma suddenly ordered him to leave Antwerp; and since he was without funds, he had to borrow money to pay his debts before he could move on to Middelburg. So he asked Sidney to honor his debt for £20.

Since he was carrying dispatches for Morgan concerning the surrender of Antwerp to Parma, Le Sieur might have been in England

⁸ Hist. MSS. Comm., *Salisbury*, III, 8.

in September, 1585, but, if so, it was the last time he could have seen his master Sir Philip Sidney, for, on October 14, coming from Gravelines, he and a messenger of Leicester were taken captives. Removed to Dunkirk, he was in prison there when Sidney received his commission as governor of Flushing on November 7; Sidney, just before his departure, appointed William Temple as secretary. A letter of Sidney's expresses regret both for "Steven's" imprisonment and for the lack of his services. Writing from Middelburg to Walsingham on December 14, he says that he "must ever remember yow for poor Steven yow know Sir it toucheth my creddit to have my man so long a prisoner, if by my industry it mai be helped, but I leav that and my self to your good care and favowr, hoping thereon as greatly as indeed I want his service."⁹ Before Le Sieur was freed in 1587, Sidney had been dead several months, but not without mention in his will of his servant Stephen "now Prisoner in Dunkirk" to be paid the sum of £200 "either there, to redeem him thence, if there be no other mean, or after his Coming out, for his better Maintenance." Walsingham and Leicester were asked to have a care for him, "having lain so long in Misery," and to be "a Mean for his Deliverance."¹⁰

As for the capture of Le Sieur, Dr. Doyley, Leicester's agent, wrote on November 12 that, having escaped the hell-hounds at Dunkirk, he had arrived at "Calleys." Their ship had been not far from Dunkirk when two Spanish men-of-war attacked. Too heavily loaded on both decks to fight, it yielded, and they were robbed, with daggers at their throats, of all their goods and apparel, down to doublet and hose. Brought to Dunkirk, the officials there held poniards at their breasts and stripped and searched them further, taking anything the mariners had missed. Doyley had been able to pay his ransom by the aid of two English merchants, but "Mr. Stephens" was not allowed ransom, because, by the letters he had, they "pretended him to be an agent of matters of estate, and an especiall instrument in matters of Flushing, and sett him down articles, whereunto they comaunded him to answer peremptoriely, upon payne of the torture, the coppie whereof, with his answers to them, he hath sent to Mr. Secretary." The answers to the articles had also been sent to Parma, so Doyley feared Stephen's imprisonment would be a long and difficult matter. "I escaped well, because they found nothing in my chest but physick and astronomy books, all letters and notes for your Honor's business I drowned out of a porthole, when they entered the ship, which Mr. Stephens could by no means do, his trunk being overwhelmed with sondrie packs."¹¹

⁹ Sidney, *Complete Works*, ed. Feuillerat (Cambridge, 1912-26), III, 154. Feuillerat does not mention Le Sieur by name, merely listing *Steven* in his index.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 373.

¹¹ Thomas Wright, ed., *Queen Elizabeth and Her Times* (London, 1838), II, 266-69.

The only extant letters written by Le Sieur from Dunkirk prison are chiefly those written to Walsingham. The details of his captivity, his hopes and suggestions for ransom or an exchange of prisoners, his generous recommendations to Walsingham's notice of English prisoners freed from Dunkirk, his fading hopes of being exchanged for a Spanish prisoner, and his despair at ever gaining his freedom, show fortitude and a resignation to try to bear his lot. Walsingham, ever harassed, seems to have done what he could to free his son-in-law's retainer, but was balked by Parma, and, it would seem, by the half-hearted efforts of some of his own agents. Only a few brief passages can be noticed here, chiefly those that refer to Sidney as his master.¹²

Early in his captivity (November 25, 1585), he wrote Walsingham that "what they will do with us, the Lord in Heaven doth know." He was soon to know: ransom was the motive. Until he knew what Parma would demand, he "would not be importunate to you and my other patrons, without whose assistance I must perish in this most miserable place. I assure myself of your and my noble master's favour. . . . This place yields only sorrows." In December, still in "this most miserable prison, where the English are hated above all nations," no word had come about his ransom. He hoped God would give him patience to endure these griefs; he would "patiently expect what it shall please God, your honour, and my noble master to do." In January, he hoped someone would free him "out of this miserable place, that I may devote the rest of my poor life in the service of my honourable master and his noble parents." His letters to Sidney seem to have been sent at times to England to be forwarded; for example, one of Walsingham's agents (Tomson) wrote that he was sending him Le Sieur's letters "to his master Sir Philip Sidney and your honour." When word came in January about ransom, Le Sieur wrote that Tomson was on his way to bear to Walsingham "mouthly" the terms about an exchange of prisoners. But weeks passed, and Tomson neither returned to Dunkirk nor sent word. Put, for a time, in a dungeon, and still in solitary confinement, Le Sieur thanked God that he could support patiently his imprisonment, since there was no remedy.

When, in May, there was still no word from Tomson or England, Le Sieur wrote to Burghley himself to ask what to expect; apparently he received no reply. At the end of June he was still a close prisoner, but wrote Walsingham that neither "long imprisonment, cruel looks and threatenings, nor fair promises have or shall cause me to forget neither my duty towards God nor the service I owe your honour and my noble master, but with a constant mind to abide all these miseries and with patience expect God's time for my liberty." On November 1 he sent Sidney, "from the woeful prison of Dunkirk," the only letter

¹² *State Papers, Foreign*, 1585, -86, -87, -88, *passim*.

to him that has survived. Endorsed to him as governor of Zeeland, he mentioned receiving money from Walsingham toward his charges, and the postscript speaks of the bearer as one who could safely gain access to him with an answer. But the letter was never delivered; Sidney had been dead two weeks when it was written. In its entirety rather than in the somewhat abbreviated form in the *State Papers, Foreign*, it deserves a place in any biography of Sir Philip.

When Le Sieur learned of his master's death is not recorded, but his letters of the last of December do not mention him; unable to pay even his own charges, he submitted himself solely to Walsingham. Then Parma turned him over to the governor of Dordrecht to dispose of as he wished; the governor demanded 3,000 guilders or a certain Spaniard in exchange. One of Walsingham's agents wrote in January that Le Sieur could not raise even a thousand guilders, "as his master was dead and his old friends had shaken him off," but that he had arranged for him to be sent in exchange to Ostend. In March, however, Le Sieur was still in Dunkirk, despairing of his liberty, for almost all the assistance he "was to expect in this vain world was buried with his master Sir Philip Sidney." Yet nothing should cause him to forget either God or his service to the Queen. The governor demanded two friars in exchange for him and would accept no other terms. He was determined to endure patiently the afflictions God should lay upon him.

Finally, on April 9, 1587, Le Sieur, through Leicester's intervention, was taken first to the public prison in Brussels, then to Antwerp, where he was lodged in an inn (but "well looked unto for escaping; and that I should speak with nobody but by consent"). He was then given a very good lodging in the town; Morgan and others aided him; he could walk up and down the streets at his pleasure. By May 30 he had arrived at Bergen. The next letter from Le Sieur is dated in September; he had been with Leicester during the interval. He asked Walsingham for some place where he might do grateful service; he acknowledged perpetual obligation to Leicester for restoring him to liberty, but desired to have some means to maintain himself. In October he wrote again that "God having called to him my master, I desire to dedicate my services to your honour. I follow his Excellency, but with no allowance, maintaining myself with the little I have, which will soon be consumed." He besought Walsingham to advise him what course he could take to do him service.

Perhaps the terms of his service with Leicester improved, for he continued with him, and when in November, 1587, Leicester departed, Le Sieur was left "to serve according to his instruction." Shortly after, Henry Killegrew, a member of the Council of State, referred to "Stephens, my lord of Leicester's man," who was serving as a messenger. The accounts showing that he served Killegrew as envoy and interpreter, and as messenger to Walsingham himself, speak of him

as Mr. Stephens. And here it is well to correct an error in the *Dictionary of National Biography* which says that Le Sieur was "living at Dunkirk in January 1586, and in October of that year became secretary to the French ambassador in England." He was living in Dunkirk, true enough, and until April, 1587, but we have seen under what circumstances. It was someone who signed himself Le Sueur, or Le Seur, not Le Sieur, who was secretary to the French ambassador. The two names are entered separately in the index of the *Calendar of State Papers*; a comparison of signatures shows that they are in entirely different handwritings. Le Sieur was employed, also, by Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby, who was installed in December, 1587, as commander of the English forces after Leicester's recall, but Willoughby was finally allowed to relinquish his unwelcome commission and return to England in March, 1589. Le Sieur may have served him until that time; there seems no evidence either way. But he must have been in England shortly after Willoughby's return, for in May his request for denization was "stayed" by the Queen, although it was granted the following year.

II

The life of Sir Stephen Le Sieur (he was knighted in 1608) from 1590 until 1614 belongs chiefly to the history of English diplomacy, and the essential facts are given in Beller's study,¹³ from the early missions in Denmark and elsewhere over conflicts between the Merchant Adventurers and the Hanseatic League, to his ambassadorships to Tuscany and Germany. Always sent, it would appear, on lost causes or about hopeless conflicts, the failure of Sir Stephen in Germany on a mission dealing with the troubles between the Protestant and Catholic factions so annoyed King James that after 1614 he was never sent on further missions. It must suffice to note here some biographical details which, although irrelevant to Beller's study, appear not to have been known to him, and which are likewise omitted from the article on him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Neither Beller nor the *Dictionary of National Biography* has any reference to Sir Stephen after 1630, and both state that the date of his death is unknown. His will, however, was probated in October, 1638, so that presumably he died during that year (P.C.C., 135 Lee). The *Dictionary of National Biography* notes only one marriage, that of Stephen Leseiure, gentleman, of St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf,¹⁴ to

¹³ Beller, *EHR*, XL (1925), 22-33. Beller does not mention the several grants, interesting in themselves, made to Le Sieur for expenses on his missions, etc., to be found in the Docket Books of the Privy Seal Office and the Signet Office. He also omits, no doubt as irrelevant, lively accounts found, for example, in the *State Papers, Venetian*.

¹⁴ J. L. Chester, *Allegations for Marriage Licences*, Harleian Society, XXV (1887), 204.

Mary Littleton. This Mary Littleton of St. Clement Danes was the widow of the gallant Captain Francis Littleton often mentioned in the *State Papers, Foreign*, whose letters give a vivid account of his duties as one of the Queen's officers in the Low Countries. The wife of this Captain Littleton was a daughter of William Borlas, sergeant major in the war in the Low Countries. Le Sieur certainly knew Captain Littleton, for his letters mention his attempts to free him from Dunkirk. The *Register of St. Martin in the Fields* records the marriage of Stephanus Leysure and Maria Littleton as of December 26, 1592; it also records the death of Mrs. Maria Leysure on May 11, 1594 (Harleian Society, XXV [1898], 78, 139).

The next marriage of Le Sieur was in 1595 and was to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Chedeoke (or Chidioke) Wardour. Le Sieur himself mentioned this marriage in a letter (already referred to) to Sir Robert Cecil as one proof of his intention of being a naturalized Englishman, intending to live and die as Her Majesty's loyal subject, "having to that end allied myself with Mr. Wardour's daughter in marriage here in London" (Hist. MSS. Comm., *Salisbury*, VII, 521). Robert Sidney, in Flushing, also received a report of the marriage from Rowland Whyte in a letter of September 3, 1595: Sidney had not heard from "Beecher" [William?] because he had been in Hampshire attending the wedding of Stephen Le Sieur, "whoe is married to Mr. Wardour's daughter by York House, where his other wife died" (Hist. MSS. Comm., *L'Isle and Dudley*, II, 162). From this period Le Sieur for some years gave as his London address, "at Mr. Wardour's, next to York House." At some later time, however, he acquired a house at Chiswick, where he lived the remainder of his life, and where he may have been buried. The death of Lady Le Sieur is mentioned in the will of her father (P.C.C., 75 Wood, 1611). Sir Chedeoke, requesting burial in the parish church at Chiswick, willed money for a memorial to be built there to him, and to the memory of his wife and "daughter Leasure" who were there buried; he appointed his "son Sir Stephen Leasure, Knight," to be overseer of his will. This monument, duly erected, stated¹⁵ that Sir Chedeoke, who had served the state for forty-two years as writer of the records of the Pells of Introitus and Exitus, had had two daughters who had died young, but that Elizabeth, after she had "bin married by the space of ten years unto Sir Stephen Lestieur, Knt., now ambassador unto Mathais ye II elected emperor of ye Romans, by whom she had issue two sonnes, Edward and Stephen, who both died infants,"¹⁶ she also dyed ye first day of April, 1606, and lyeth here buried."

During 1611 or 1612 Sir Stephen Le Sieur married Elizabeth,

¹⁵ Thomas Faulkner, *History and Antiquities of Brentford, Ealing, and Chiswick* (1845), p. 317.

¹⁶ These infants are mentioned in the *Register of St. Martin in the Fields*, pp. 26, 27, 141. This register also records the death in 1606 of Elisabetha Leasure at Chiswick (p. 155).

daughter of Sir Thomas and Lady Margaret Dabridgecourt of Stratfildsay, in Southampton. Since both Lady Wardour and Lady Dabridgecourt were daughters of Henry Beecher, Elizabeth Dabridgecourt must have been a cousin of his second wife.¹⁷ The marriage was certainly before September, 1612, for at that time John Chamberlain wrote that Sir Stephen Le Sieur, designated ambassador to go to the new emperor in Germany, was to reside with him, whither he means to "carry his Lady and provides to be gon out of hand with bagge and bagage" (*Letters*, ed. McClure, I [1939], 379).

Some details about the marriage are to be found in the depositions of an acrimonious suit in chancery begun in 1631 by a brother-in-law of Lady Le Sieur, Charles Evans of the Inner Temple, over £200 which he and his wife claimed was due them from a sum of £1,200 collected about 1612 by Le Sieur on a debt owed to Sir Thomas Dabridgecourt by Sir Anthony Ashley.¹⁸ Le Sieur claimed that the money was given him as a dowry for his wife. The case was thrown out of court in 1632 for lack of evidence and because of the Statute of Limitations. Evans then began another suit, on a slightly different charge, but this was also thrown out of court, in 1635.¹⁹ Lady Elizabeth Le Sieur must have died after a few years of marriage; the will of her mother, made in 1619, does not mention her (P.C.C., 113 Savile).

A chance discovery of a passage in Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London* (I, 82), and repeated in Payne Fisher's *Tombs, Monuments . . . Visible in St. Paul's and St. Faith's* (pp. 177-78), reveals still another marriage of Sir Stephen Le Sieur. A tablet in the eastern wall of St. Faith's parish church, "under the choir of St. Paul's," commemorated "Katherine, third daughter of Edward Lord Nevill, Baron of Abergavenny, wife to Sir Stephen Lessieur of Chiswicke in the Countie of Middlesex, Knight." The inscription reads, in part, that she had been brought from her home in Chiswick to London in the hope of recovering her health, "by the help of God and Phisitions," but had died there August 4, 1630. The marriage was made at least before 1624, for Lady Le Sieur's name, along with those of the other daughter of Lord Abergavenny (or Bergavenny) appear in a document of that date concerned with the proving of the will of her father (P.C.C., 106 Savile). No dates at all are given in the mention of the marriage in the record of the Neville family in Henry Drummond's *Histories of Noble Families* (II, 20).

To turn back to other hitherto unnoted parts of Le Sieur's life, he sought, between commissions from the crown, various positions, few

¹⁷ Thomas Benolt, *Visitations of Hampshire*, Harleian Society, LXIV (1913), 41-43; William Flower, *Visitations of Nottingham*, *ibid.*, IV (1871), 37.

¹⁸ The documents are voluminous and badly injured by dampness (*Chancery Proceedings in the Time of Charles I*, Bundles L7, No. 58, L24, No. 63; E2, No. 9, E8, No. 25, E11, No. 63). This debt of £8,000 of Sir Anthony is not mentioned in the article on him in the *DNB*.

¹⁹ *Entry Books of Chancery Decrees and Orders*, *passim*.

of which came his way. In 1604, for example, he and others drew up a request for a position to be created for him which "might be called the clerk of the penalties"—to keep track of informers on penal laws and the forfeitures due the crown—and showed the need for such an office.²⁰ Chief Justice Popham admitted the abuses, but said that such an office could be created only by Parliament. Le Sieur, however, was given a grant to check on certain groups of informers, and the King allowed him one moiety of such forfeitures as were above the ordinary rate. Later, the office he had suggested was actually created, but was given to another—as one of the planners said, to one who "hath flyed with our fethere." Beller noted the grants given Le Sieur, as recorded in the *State Papers*, as a collector of debts due the crown, but does not mention the wording of one of these, in the Docket Book of the Signet Office of 1608, concerning a share of £1,000 given him of a debt due from Sir Thomas Gresham, that "this is done in regard of his present employment in his Majesty's service to Tuscany." (He went there as ambassador in 1608, shortly after he was knighted.) Another grant not noticed elsewhere came after Le Sieur had returned in 1614 from Germany from what had proved to be the last of his diplomatic missions and when he was evidently finding whatever employment he could. In the Docket Books of the Signet Office (Index 6805) is entered a grant on September 16, 1616, for the "accustomed reward" of His Majesty of "five shillings on the ton, granted to Sir Stephen Le Zure and others toward their charges in building six new ships amounting on the whole to the sum of 1721 crowns, ton and tonnage." The *State Papers* record several such grants, but this is not among them.

The naturalization of Sir Stephen Le Sieur, mentioned by Beller, began with a first reading of the bill in the House of Commons in 1621.²¹ There may be some significance in the fact that in 1621 a Sir Stephen Le Sare, Knight, "a stranger," who can hardly be any other person, was fined £15 as an alien.²² At any rate, the readings in the *Journal of the House of Lords* (Vol. III, *passim*) during the required interval yield some biographical details and confirm others, such as his home being in Chiswick, and give a list of his services to the crown and "Ambaggages beyond the seas." In 1623 Sir Stephen was one of the executors of the will of the remarkable Dr. Francis Anthony, who has somehow escaped the historical novelists. Dr. Anthony, among the bequests to his wife, along with the best taffeta bed, willed her the moneys in the hands of a son-in-law and of Sir Stephen Le Sieur (P.C.C., 60 Swann). But some trouble arose over Le Sieur's executorship of the will, for at least part of a suit between him and a son of Dr. Anthony is a matter of record.

²⁰ *Commons Debates*, ed. Wallace Notestein, VII (1935), 419.

²¹ *Ibid.*, I-V, *passim*. The diaries published here by Notestein show an even wider variety than usual of spellings of Sir Stephen's name, one being Le Jure.

²² R. E. G. Kirk, *Returns of Aliens*, Huguenot Society, X, Part III (1907), 235.

Both the sources on Le Sieur mention his petition to Charles I to have restored to him the pension of £50 a year granted in 1602 for life by Queen Elizabeth, unaccountably stopped during the time of Charles. This document, briefly entered in the *State Papers, Domestic* (1627-1628), is worth reading in its entirety; its dignified yet pathetic plea is for some reward for the long list of services he had given. Beller seems correct in saying that apparently there is no record showing that the pension was returned to him after a payment of £25 in 1630. But the fact that he was still alive some time after that date is made clear by several other things: for one, the voluminous documents already mentioned of the suits in chancery brought by Charles Evans in 1631, the last of which was thrown out of court in 1635. That date is, however, the last one I have found for him up to that of the proving of his will in 1638 by his brother-in-law Sir Edward Wardour. His home in 1635 was still in Chiswick; presumably he was buried there, but no record seems available.

Earlier, however, in the 1630's, two events show that he was still living—the Latin dedication to him of two books published in Frankfort by the distinguished English publisher William Fitzer.²³ Whether Sir Stephen made a visit to the Continent during this period I am unable to say, but the second of the dedications would imply that he had. The first work appeared in 1632 and was a continuation of a work by Jean Jacques Boissard of brief sketches and illustrations of famous men, chiefly English—from the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to eight English bishops and other divines. The dedication, dated 1631, is inexplicable: it speaks of these personages as ones who had acknowledged their indebtedness to Sir Stephen, and the book as one to recall to him that those he had aided during their lives had been grateful and devoted to him. Fitzer also spoke of persons at that time (1631) in Frankfort attending an imperial council who still cherished Sir Stephen's friendship and extolled his manner when he had been sent to them earlier as ambassador.

The other work has a greater claim to readers of English literature than anything connected with the life of Sir Stephen Le Sieur, and brings us back to Sir Philip Sidney. In 1633 Fitzer brought out a small volume of the letters of Hubert Languet to Sir Philip Sidney.²⁴ Badly printed and on poor paper, the volume is very rare today, but is, nonetheless, the basis for the reprinting of it by the Elzevirs in 1646. The Latin dedication, dated 1632, by Fitzer to Sir Stephen, if it is to be accepted at face value, credits him with entrusting to him the letters for publication. When or how the letter of Hubert Lan-

²³ For William Fitzer, see E. Weil, "William Fitzer, the Publisher of Harvey's *De Motu Cordis*," *The Library*, Bib. Soc. (1944). To this article I owe the knowledge of the existence of Fitzer's dedication of Boissard's work, *V Pars Iconum complectens virorum clarorum*.

²⁴ For this little-known edition some facts may be found in my article, "The First Edition of the Letters of Hubert Languet to Sir Philip Sidney," *JEGP*, XLVIII (1949), 361-66.

guet to his old master could have come into Sir Stephen's possession can only, it seems, be a matter of conjecture, especially since he was out of England, including the period at Dunkirk prison, both before and after Sidney's death. The value of the *Epistolae*, even though known chiefly because of the Elzevir reprinting in 1646, to Sidney biography need not be pointed out; Sir Stephen Le Sieur, along with Sir Fulke Greville of the famous epitaph in 1628, should be remembered as a friend to Sir Philip Sidney.

Hunter College

AN UNPUBLISHED REVIEW BY CHARLES LAMB

By GEORGE L. BARNETT

Various writers on Charles Lamb have referred to the existence of an unpublished review by Lamb, but they have been uncertain of its nature or ignorant of its location. In his chapter on "The New Criticism," in *Charles Lamb and His Contemporaries* (1933), Edmund Blunden writes: "Two or three years ago, the manuscript of a long and perfectly written review of Hazlitt's *Table Talk*, by Lamb, passed through the sale-rooms; it was supposed to be unpublished, and has not been published since it appeared and disappeared. It is likely that it had been printed in a journal in Lamb's time—and was an instance of what has not been identified."¹ E. V. Lucas also referred to and quoted from the original of this essay in a note to his text of one of Lamb's letters to John Taylor, which he dates "8th June 1821."² He said that the original was "in the possession of Mr. Owen D. Young" and that it was a review of the first series of Hazlitt's *Table-Talk*. "Although completed, it was, so far as I can discover, never printed." The manuscript was briefly described in Sotheby's Sales Catalogue for March, 1929,³ and was mentioned in an unsigned article, "Lamb, Keats, and Shelley MSS," in the *Times Literary Supplement* for March 7, 1929.⁴

While it is not possible at this time to reproduce the complete text of this "new" essay, it may be revealed that the manuscript passed from the possession of Owen D. Young to the permanent custody of the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection in the New York Public Library. It is hoped that projected plans for the publication of this and other material in the Collection will come to fruition before long. In the meantime, it may be of interest to dispel conjecture and uncertainty by stating briefly what can be learned from an examination of the manuscript itself.

The manuscript is entitled "Table-Talk; or, Original Essays. By William Hazlitt"; it is a review of the first volume of this work, which was published in April, 1821. Although replete with Lamb's characteristic cancellations and substitutions, the manuscript is in excellent condition and clearly legible throughout. It is long, consisting of eleven folio sheets, all except the last two of which are written on both sides. The review is unsigned, but it is definitely in Lamb's handwriting. Judging from the number of alterations, I think there

¹ Page 111.

² *Letters of Charles and Mary Lamb*, ed. E. V. Lucas (London, 1935), II, 299-300, No. 391.

³ Pp. 115-16.

⁴ Page 192.

is no doubt that this was the first draft—and probably the only draft. Like other Lamb manuscripts I have seen, this one shows corrections of errors, such as the miswriting of "their" for "there"; rewriting of a blotted word to make it legible; and substitutions to avoid repetition or otherwise to improve style or attain greater precision of meaning. A large portion of the review consists of long extracts from *Table-Talk*, chosen to illustrate the eloquence, contagious enthusiasm, sentiment, and exaggerated portraiture found therein.

Although Lamb takes issue with Hazlitt's complaint of his friends in his essay "On Living to One's-self," and attempts to analyze his author's attitude, the general tenor of his review is favorable. Hazlitt is "one of the ablest prose-writers of the age," and while his thoughts and illustrations do not always agree well, thereby resulting in a puzzling obscurity for some readers, yet to Lamb himself this combination of the functions of the critic and the essayist "presents a result not less singular than delightful." While he is "perhaps too much of a partisan" as a critic, "as an Essayist, his writings can hardly fail to be read with general satisfaction and with the greatest by those who are most able to appreciate characteristic thought and felicitous expression."

In praising Hazlitt for being "no visionary," at the beginning of his review, Lamb contrasts him advantageously with Addison and his followers, who "were long and grievously misled" into thinking that no book of essays was "complete without a Vision." "The humour, thank Heaven, is pretty well past." In the same way, Hazlitt has avoided assuming a fictitious character like the Spectator to voice his opinions and reflections, but who lacks the personality of an Isaac Bickerstaff to give a unity to the whole. Here Lamb reveals his understanding of the appeal of the personal essay and of the background of that type of writing as well. To give a series of essays the continuity of interest resulting from this unification, a writer must utilize his own character. The personality need not be of any one type, apparently, for Lamb cites not only Montaigne, but also Plutarch and Johnson, as employing the necessary self-revelation. Hazlitt is considered to belong in this class, and the work is given a necessary unity by the personal peculiarities of the author. Lamb believes that Hazlitt is not really the discontented man he appears to be in *Table-Talk*, but that he has assumed this character to give "force and life to his writing."

One important thought that emerges from this summary of Lamb's evaluation of Hazlitt as an essayist is that Lamb was quite well aware of what he was doing in his own personal essays. While he did adopt a fictitious appellation, Elia was a personality, not simply a phantom with no individual coloring. Elia was a successful masque, like Isaac Bickerstaff, and served effectively to avoid "the invidious-

ness of a perpetual self-reference," as Lamb says of his favored predecessors. Lamb's self-revelation, apparently so casually and naturally woven into his style, was the *sprezzatura*, the art that covered art, the necessary ingredient for a carefully calculated effect.

Unless, as Blunden suggested, Lamb's review of *Table-Talk* was printed in a journal and has not been identified, a possibility which I do not think "likely," or was printed in some periodical no longer extant, we may feel safe in concluding that it was never published, possibly for the reason that at the time it was written a conflict of personalities stood in the way. The date of composition may be placed between April, 1821, the date of publication of Volume I of *Table-Talk*, and June, 1822, the date of the appearance of Volume II. The review is concerned only with the first volume, and no mention is made of a second. E. V. Lucas, in the note referred to above, assumed that the review Lamb spoke of in his letter to Taylor of June 8, 1821, was this review of *Table-Talk*. Lamb writes that he is "sorry to be obliged to decline the article proposed," but, among other reasons, "I am here at Margate, spoiling my holydays with a Review I have undertaken for a friend, which I shall barely get through before my return, for that sort of work is a hard task to me." The location of this letter is, like that of many others in Lucas' edition, not given, so the accuracy of its postmark cannot be verified. However, since Mrs. Cowden Clarke testified that she visited Lamb and his sister at Margate in June of that year, it seems that the date of Lamb's letter is correct as given. It is possible that Lamb had reference to some other review, but no other is known which would have been written at this time, and it would not have been too late for a review of *Table-Talk* to appear.

The term "friend" in Lamb's letter may signify the author of the work being reviewed, but it is more likely that he had "undertaken" the review at the request of an editor. Leigh Hunt, a close friend, had declined to publish "a criticism" of *Table-Talk* in his *Examiner* in April, 1821. Incensed over Hazlitt's treatment of Shelley and himself in his essays, Hunt addressed a long letter of protest to William Hazlitt, dated April 20, 1821:

I think, Mr. Hazlitt, you might have found a better time, and place too, for assaulting me and my friends in this bitter manner. A criticism on *Table-Talk* was to appear in next Sunday's *Examiner*, but I have thought it best, upon the whole, not to let it appear, for I must have added a quarrelsome note to it; and the sight of acquaintances and brother-reformers cutting and carbonadoing one another in public is, I conceive, no advancement to the cause of Liberal opinion, however you may think they injure it in other respects.⁵

If the date of this letter is correct—and we must take this on faith also—then the review Lamb was writing at Margate in June cannot

⁵ P. P. Howe, *Life of William Hazlitt* (London, 1947), p. 288.

have been the same as this abortive criticism—unless, what is highly unlikely, Lamb had written the criticism and was asked by Hunt to revise it after a series of Hunt-Hazlitt letters served to placate the former. Whatever the "criticism" may have been, and whoever the author, Hunt's reference to it here does not negate the possibility that Lamb was writing his review for his friend's *Examiner*. He had published several reviews there in the recent past: a review of *Falstaff's Letters* in September, 1819; of Charles Lloyd's *Poems* in October, 1819, and of Field's *First Fruits of Australian Poetry* in January, 1820.

I am inclined to believe, if the dates on the letters are accurate, that Hunt actually had some sort of critical notice in hand which he decided not to print in the April 22 number of the *Examiner*, and that after the reconciliation was effected by the exchange of letters at the end of April, Hunt proposed the review to Lamb. Occupied until May 18 with writing "My Relations" for the June number of the *London Magazine*,⁶ Lamb may have promised to do the review during his subsequent three- or four-week vacation, which he referred to in a letter of May 22.⁷ If this is true, Hunt's failure to publish it is understandable when we read Lamb's general, but severe, castigation of Hazlitt's treatment of his friends with his tendency to magnify weaknesses. Hunt may rightly have felt that to do so would be blowing on coals of temper just recently fanned and banked. Even though Lamb's judgment of Hazlitt's methods corroborated his own, his desire for continued good terms with Hazlitt may have outweighed any sense of self-justification that would have accrued to him from the publication of this essay. And anyway, he was about to relinquish his editorship after thirteen years: the *Examiner* was declining in circulation, his health was delicate, and Shelley was beckoning to him from Italy.

It is unfortunate that Lamb's essay was not printed, from the point of view of his relations with Hazlitt, for the friction that came about at the end of 1822 or the beginning of 1823, while not lasting a long time nor unique in their friendship, might have been avoided had Hazlitt had a chance to read a public testimony by Lamb as to his merits as a writer. The lack of a good word from Lamb was the fourth point listed by Hazlitt when he enumerated his grievances in his explanatory reply to Hunt's protest: "4. I have taken all opportunities of praising Lamb, and I never got a good word from him in return, big or little, till the other day. He seemed struck all of a heap, if I ever hinted at the possibility of his giving me a lift at any time." As P. P. Howe says, "the good word in return, in a public sense, is quite extraordinarily elusive."⁸ From the facts now avail-

⁶ *Letters*, II, 296, No. 384.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 296, No. 385.

⁸ *Life*, pp. 291-92.

able, it seems that it was soon forthcoming and would have been one in the public sense had not Lamb felt obliged to be honest as well as eulogistic or had not literary tempers already been sensitized to the point that an honest analysis of Hazlitt's methods might have brought them dangerously near another eruption.

Indiana University

LAZARUS LAUGHED AND BUDDHA

By DORIS M. ALEXANDER

"There is no death!" cries Lazarus in Eugene O'Neill's *Lazarus Laughed*. The message has come from many of the great religious redeemers of mankind. According to what particular redeemers did O'Neill design Lazarus? Two are clear from the play itself. A third has been widely recognized by critics. But these three saviours are not sufficient to explain O'Neill's Lazarus. He remains a puzzling species of redeemer. This paper will offer to clarify the character of Lazarus by completing the list of saviours upon whom he has been modeled.

In the play, O'Neill identifies Lazarus with both Greek and Christian myth. The framework of Lazarus' character is clear. He is the Christian hero raised from the dead by Jesus to stand as eternal symbol that "he that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in Me shall never die."¹ Some of Lazarus' characteristics, then, stem from his Christian origin. Into the shell of Christian myth, O'Neill has poured the substance of a second and quite different myth. Throughout the play, O'Neill explicitly identifies Lazarus with the god Dionysus, as, for instance, in his description of Lazarus at the beginning of Act II:

His countenance now might well be that of the positive masculine Dionysus, closest to the soil of the Grecian gods, a Son of Man, born of a mortal. Not the coarse, drunken Dionysus, nor the effeminate god, but Dionysus in his middle period, more comprehensive in his symbolism, the soul of the recurring seasons, of living and dying as processes in eternal growth, of the wine of life stirring forever in the sap and blood and loam of things.²

The singing, dancing disciples of Lazarus echo the ritual celebration of Dionysus. In his notes on Lazarus, O'Neill writes that "a sort of Pan-Cult is growing up around him."³ Clearly O'Neill interprets Lazarus as a reincarnation of Dionysus. Through their common significance as symbols of eternal life, O'Neill has fused the Greek nature deity with the Christian hero. Lazarus is, then, part Christ, part Dionysus.

But Lazarus is not simply Dionysus; he is Dionysus as interpreted

¹ These words do not appear in the published play, but in the original longhand script for *Lazarus Laughed*, where, in the first scene, Lazarus' sister Martha repeats the words of Jesus. MS in the American Literature Collection of Yale University Library. I wish to thank the late Eugene O'Neill and the authorities of the Yale Library for permission to consult the Yale O'Neill collection.

² P. 307. All references to *Lazarus Laughed* are to *Plays of Eugene O'Neill*, 3 vols. (New York, 1941), Vol. I, and are to act, scene, and page.

³ "*Lazarus Laughed*: Original MS Notes and Drawings Made for Stage Production of the Play," in the American Literature Collection of Yale University Library.

by Nietzsche. He is a spokesman for Nietzsche's philosophy. The influence of Nietzsche on *Lazarus Laughed* has long been recognized. Oscar Cargill has pointed out the resemblance between O'Neill's Lazarus and Nietzsche's Dionysus in *The Birth of Tragedy*.⁴ Earlier, Sophus Keith Winther identified the philosophy of *Lazarus Laughed* with Nietzsche's philosophy as expressed in *Thus Spake Zarathustra*.⁵ Nietzsche's Zarathustra himself is Dionysus under another name.⁶ And a good part of O'Neill's Lazarus is simply Zarathustra under another name. The disciples of Lazarus might say of him what Zarathustra's disciple said: "New stars hast thou made us see, and new nocturnal glories: verily, laughter itself hast thou spread out over us like a many-hued canopy."⁷ Furthermore, the effect of Lazarus upon his disciples is the effect Nietzsche tells us Dionysus has upon his followers:

Now, with the gospel of universal harmony, each one feels himself not only united, reconciled, blended with his neighbor, but as one with him; he feels as if the veil of Mâyâ had been torn aside and were now merely fluttering in tatters before the mysterious Primordial Unity. In song and in dance man expresses himself as a member of a higher community....⁸

As a spokesman for Nietzsche's philosophy, Lazarus retains many of the personal characteristics of the Nietzschean prophet Zarathustra. Lazarus, like Zarathustra, along with his ecstatic celebration of life, his universal love, has a startling capacity for mockery and bitterness. Like Zarathustra, Lazarus tempers his vision of what man might be with contempt for what man is. These aspects of Lazarus' character cannot be explained through his derivation from the Christian hero or the god Dionysus. In order to understand O'Neill's Lazarus, one must know all three models on whom his portrait is based.

Yet, when these three pieces of the puzzle are put together, when to the Christian hero is added the god Dionysus and the prophet Zarathustra, still the full character of O'Neill's Lazarus does not emerge. A large gap remains, a gap that leaves the three pieces of the puzzle separate, unfused. Lazarus' abstraction at moments of great danger to his family or his disciples, the cool impersonal quality of his affections, cannot be explained through his derivation from the Biblical Lazarus, from Dionysus, or from Zarathustra. These unexplained elements in the characterization of Lazarus, which make him so difficult to understand, form, however, a unified picture resembling one other great saviour of mankind. If one adds to the Christ, the Dionysus, the Zarathustra in Lazarus the image of Gotama the

⁴ *Intellectual America: Ideas on the March* (New York, 1941), pp. 701-702.

⁵ *Eugene O'Neill: A Critical Study* (New York, 1934), p. 95.

⁶ See, for instance, A. H. J. Knight, *Some Aspects of the Life and Work of Nietzsche, and Particularly of His Connection with Greek Literature and Thought* (Cambridge, 1933), p. 84.

⁷ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, in *Philosophy of Nietzsche* (New York, 1927), p. 149.

⁸ *Birth of Tragedy*, in *Philosophy of Nietzsche*, p. 956.

Buddha, the character of O'Neill's Lazarus becomes fully understandable.

Eugene O'Neill was well acquainted with Buddhism at the time he began his writing of *Lazarus Laughed*. In 1929 he wrote: "off and on, of late years I have studied the history and development of all religions with immense interest as being—for me, at least—the most illuminating 'case histories' of the inner life of man."⁹ His study of Eastern religions, particularly of Taoism and Buddhism, is reflected in *Marco Millions*, written just before *Lazarus Laughed*. There O'Neill's ideas on Buddhism are voiced by Kublai Kaan. In the notes for *Marco Millions*, O'Neill wrote of the Kaan: "Since the Polos left he has been studying the teaching of Buddha & of Christ. He is impressed with the essential identity of their truth but amazed by the contradictory manner in which their truth becomes distorted in human life, the dogma of religion."¹⁰ The way their truth becomes distorted is demonstrated in the play when both Buddha and Christ, referred to by their disciples as "the Prince of Peace," are made the excuse for waging war.¹¹ Since O'Neill was convinced of the "essential identity" of Buddhism and Christianity at the time he began *Lazarus Laughed*, it is not surprising that he enriched his interpretation of the Christian myth with ideas and symbols from Buddhism.

O'Neill's interest in similarities and his disregard for differences allowed him to fuse not only Lazarus with Dionysus, Buddha with Christ, but also Buddha with Nietzsche.¹² Nietzsche had written that the Dionysian emotions "cause the subjective to vanish into complete self-forgetfulness." From the Dionysian, according to Nietzsche, comes the "mystery doctrine of tragedy: the fundamental knowledge of the oneness of everything existent, the conception of individuation as the prime cause of evil, and of art as the joyous hope that the bonds of individuation may be broken in augury of a restored oneness."¹³ This idea of Nietzsche reflects the central tenet of Buddhism. For Buddhism holds that "individuation" is "the prime cause of evil." A main doctrine in Buddhism is the overcoming of self, which is subject to the evils of disease, old age, and death. Buddha said to his disciples:

Listen now and understand: The mind, the thoughts, and all the senses are

⁹ From a letter to Martha Carolyn Sparrow, Oct. 13, 1929. See the unpublished dissertation (Northwestern University, 1931) by Sparrow, *Influence of Psychoanalytical Material on the Plays of Eugene O'Neill*, p. 77.

¹⁰ "Notebook 1920-1930, with Scenarios and Notes of *Marco Millions*, *The Great God Brown*, *Lazarus Laughed*, *Strange Interlude* and *Dynamo*," MS in the American Literature Collection of the Yale University Library.

¹¹ Compare II, 1, p. 394, with III, 1, p. 422, of *Marco Millions* in *Plays of Eugene O'Neill*, Vol. II.

¹² Points of similarity between Buddha and Nietzsche are not difficult to find. For Nietzsche was familiar with Buddhism and reflects part of its doctrine. All O'Neill had to do was ignore the many ways in which the philosophy of Nietzsche and the philosophy of Buddha are contradictory.

¹³ *Birth of Tragedy*, pp. 955, 1002.

subject to the law of life and death. This fault of birth and death, once understood, then there is clear and plain perception. Obtaining this clear perception, then there is born knowledge of self. . . . Knowing oneself, and understanding how the senses act, then there is no room for "I" (soul) or ground for framing it; then all the accumulated mass of sorrow, sorrows born from life and death, being recognized as attributes of body, and as this body is not "I," nor offers ground for "I," then comes the great superlative, the source of peace unending. This thought of "self" gives rise to all these sorrows, binding as with cords the world, but having found there is no "I" that can be bound, then all these bonds are severed. There are no bonds indeed—they disappear—and seeing this there is deliverance.¹⁴

O'Neill, of course, was very well aware of this prominent part of Buddhist thought, and he shows his knowledge in *Marco Millions*, where Kublai Kaan asks his Buddhist priest about death: "Worshiper of Buddha, can your self-overcoming overcome that greatest overcomer of self?" The Buddhist priest replies: "This is a thing which no god can bring about: that what is subject to death should not die" (III, 2, p. 434).

Lazarus' message to the world is saturated with O'Neill's knowledge of Buddhism. "Let a laughing away of self be your new right to live forever" (II, 1, p. 310), Lazarus tells his followers. Like the Buddhists, Lazarus believes that "the root of the great sorrow of birth and death, the life destined to be spent in the five ways, the cause of the whirl of life . . . is to be placed in the existence of 'I'; because of the influence of this cause, result the consequences of repeated birth and death; this cause is without any nature of its own, and its fruits have no nature. . . ."¹⁵ So, when the Centurion suggests that Tiberius will invent a new kind of death for Lazarus, Lazarus answers smilingly: "But all death is men's invention!" And when Tiberius asks him the secret of his youth, Lazarus replies: "I know that age and time are but timidities of thought" (I, 2, p. 294; IV, 1, p. 354). The corruption of both Tiberius and Caligula comes from their clinging to the false concept of self. Tiberius rejects the gospel of Lazarus, saying: "I want hope—for me, Tiberius Caesar." To this, Lazarus replies: "What is—you?" (IV, 1, p. 351). The glory of Lazarus' followers is their overcoming of self, and thus Lazarus describes the victory over self:

Cast aside is our pitiable pretense, our immortal egohood, the holy lantern behind which cringed our Fear of the Dark! Flung off is that impudent insult to life's nobility which gibbers: "I, this Jew, this Roman, this noble or this slave, must survive in my pettiness forever!" Away with such cowardice of spirit! We will to die! We will to change! Laughing we lived with our gift, now with laughter give we back that gift to become again the Essence of the Giver! (II, 2, p. 324)

The character of a saviour is an embodiment of his message. Hence, Lazarus not only voices the doctrine of Buddha, but expresses

¹⁴ Asvaghosha Bodhisattva, *Life of Buddha*, in *Sacred Books of the East*, rev. ed. (New York, 1945), p. 391.

¹⁵ Asvaghosha Bodhisattva, p. 363.

some of his personal characteristics. One of the extraordinary characteristics of O'Neill's Lazarus is his capacity to radiate light. Of course, as a Christian hero, Lazarus may be expected to have a halo. As a reincarnation of Dionysus, he may also have a nimbus. As Nietzsche's Zarathustra, he may glow.¹⁶ However, O'Neill's first use of the radiation symbol occurs in *Marco Millions*, where he was expressing his knowledge of Buddhism.¹⁷ Furthermore, the way O'Neill uses the radiation symbol in *Lazarus Laughed* exactly parallels the way it is used in Buddhist literature. In Buddhist scriptures the Buddha is always described as "glorious with lustrous shining." The scriptures say the body of the Buddha "was effulgent with light, and like the sun which eclipses the shining of the lamp, so the true gold-like beauty of Bodhisattva shone forth, and was diffused everywhere." The brilliance of the Buddha lights up dark places: "his graceful body brightly shining, lit up on every side the forest 'place of suffering.'" ¹⁸ The whole radiation symbol is common in Oriental tradition, according to which "a kind of fiery energy radiates from the bodies of great men, and the habit of meditation increases it. Very often this magical power is represented by flames which emanate from a halo round the figure of the Buddha, and sometimes from his shoulders."¹⁹ Similarly overpowering is the radiance of O'Neill's Lazarus. In the first scene of *Lazarus Laughed*, O'Neill describes Lazarus as sitting on a raised platform, "his head haloed and his body illumined by a soft radiance as of tiny phosphorescent flames." Throughout the play Lazarus appears "radiant in the halo of his own glowing light." As the play proceeds, his body seems "to glow more brightly than ever." His triumphal entrance into the palace of Tiberius is effected not only through his laughter, but through his radiance. "He walks into the black archway of the darkened palace, his figure radiant and unearthly in his own light."²⁰ Thus, although Lazarus' radiance may be made up of the Christian halo, the Hellenistic nimbus, and Nietzsche's vision of a "light-surrounded" superman,²¹ it recalls most powerfully the radiance of Buddha.

Lazarus' radiance is closely associated with his inner enlightenment, his contemplation, for Lazarus, like Buddha, is a contemplative. At the very beginning of the play, when he has just risen from the dead, he is still held in a vision beyond life. "Just now he is staring straight before him as if his vision were still fixed beyond life" (I, 1,

¹⁶ Nietzsche uses the radiation symbol only rarely. See, for instance, *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, pp. 114, 176.

¹⁷ The face of the dead Princess Kukachin is lit up by "an unearthly glow, like a halo," which symbolizes her attainment of peace and joy; in her own words, "Now I am love, and live." *Marco Millions*, p. 352.

¹⁸ Asvaghosha Bodhisattva, pp. 343, 296, 330.

¹⁹ Edward Conze, *Buddhism: Its Essence and Development* (New York, 1951), p. 38.

²⁰ I, 1, p. 274; II, 1, p. 307; II, 2, p. 312; III, 1, p. 335.

²¹ *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, p. 176.

p. 274). In his first scenario for *Lazarus Laughed*, O'Neill describes the Oriental quality of Lazarus' contemplation. "There is something rapt and devout about his motionless attitude—a quality of Eastern prayer." Just what O'Neill had in mind by "a quality of Eastern prayer" is clarified by reference to O'Neill's scenario description of Kublai Kaan in a similar attitude of meditation: "On his golden chair at the top Kublai sits in the posture of a statue of Buddha, motionless, rapt in contemplation." In other parts of O'Neill's scenario for *Lazarus Laughed* appear further explicit references to the fact that Lazarus is a contemplative. "Lazarus in white stands at center like the statue of a detached, contemplative God. The aura of light surrounds him" ("Notebook 1920-1930"). In the published play no explicit references to Lazarus as a contemplative appear, but his actions certainly proclaim him one. As a matter of fact, unless the Buddha qualities in Lazarus are recognized, some of his actions are very difficult to understand.

For instance, at the moment when Lazarus' family, divided into the warring camps of Nazarenes and Orthodox, fly at one another with knives and swords, at the moment when the Roman soldiers are completing the carnage by cutting down both groups, "Lazarus and his Followers remain oblivious to men." With difficulty Miriam calls his attention to the slaughter of his family and neighbors going on before him: "in desperation she embraces Lazarus beseechingly, forcing his attention back to earth" (I, 2, pp. 290-91). Only in the light of Oriental mysticism, of the whole logic of Buddhism, is absent-mindedness at such a moment defensible, understandable. Naturally the Buddhist remains calm in the midst of the tumult of appearances, as did the Buddha in the face of the machinations of the evil Nāga.

Buddha forthwith stepped within the fiery grot, and took his seat with dignity and deep reflection; and now the evil Nāga seeing Buddha, belched forth in rage his fiery poison, and filled the place with burning vapor. But this could not affect the form of Buddha. Throughout the abode the fire consumed itself, the honored of the world still sat composed: Even as Brahma, in the midst of the kalpa-fire that burns and reaches to the Brahma heavens, still sits unmoved, without a thought of fear or apprehension, so Buddha sat; the evil Nāga seeing him, his face glowing with peace, and still unchanged, ceased his poisonous blast, his heart appeased; he bent his head and worshipped.²²

Like Buddha, Lazarus is calm in the face of apparent danger to himself or to his followers. When his disciples are about to be slaughtered by the Roman legions, Lazarus remains in calm meditation. He makes no movement while Miriam pleads with Caligula to spare them. Only at the point where Caligula places his hand on Lazarus' shoulder, saying: "Lazarus! Do you hear? I must signal to the legions!" does Lazarus turn, his face "exalted and calm and beautiful" (II, 2, p. 317). He knows that death and suffering are part of the delusion of self, which are shed with the self, and so is divinely

²² Asvaghosha Bodhisattva, p. 388.

calm in the face of the death of his own followers, and his own death. Originally O'Neill meant to make Lazarus' indifference to physical suffering dramatically clear by having Tiberius torture him to death. When Tiberius promises to stop the torture if Lazarus will tell what he saw beyond death, Lazarus replies: "You cannot torture, nor spare nor kill me, Caesar. In the grave I forgot my fear of suffering and death."²³ In the published play, Lazarus is burned at the stake, a fate he accepts with equal calm and exaltation. Except when viewed in the light of his Buddha qualities, Lazarus' calm abstraction at certain points in the play would be difficult to understand.

Although Lazarus is indifferent to the delusive terrors of suffering and death, he is nevertheless profoundly compassionate. In this seemingly contradictory mingling of indifference with compassion, Lazarus is particularly like the Buddha. Of course, Lazarus' qualities of universal compassion, gentleness, love, may stem from both Christ and Buddha, from the "essential identity" O'Neill saw in them. In a few cases, however, Lazarus' love appears to be more in the Buddhist tradition than in the Christian. The abstract nature of his loving kindness, coolly indifferent to individuals, is a case in point. Both Pompeia and Caligula are frustrated by the fact that Lazarus' love for them is generalized, is not for them as individuals. As Caligula says of him: "He loves everyone—but no one—not even me!" Pompeia is even more distraught at Lazarus' indifference to her as an individual: "No! No! It is *my* love, not Love! I want you to know *my* love, to give me back love—for me—only for me—Pompeia..." (IV, 1, pp. 351, 361). Lazarus, like Buddha, cannot give love to individuals because he knows that the appearance of individuality is a delusion, and anything that encourages the concept of individuality binds humanity to suffering and death. The feelings of those who expect an individualized response from Lazarus are very like those of the father of Gotama the Buddha when he first met his son after the long years in which the Buddha obtained enlightenment.

Thus, now I see my son, his well-known features as of old; but how estranged his heart! and how his manner high and lifted up! There are no grateful outflowings of soul, his feelings seem unwilling to express themselves; cold and vacant there he sits; and like a thirsty man before a dried-up fountain so am I.²⁴

But the individual loss of his son vanishes for the father in his joy at receiving the truth that gives escape from all the sufferings attendant upon the transitory relationships of this world. The Buddha "was moved by equal love to all the world, his one desire that men should escape the grief of lust."²⁵ In a similar manner, Lazarus is moved by "equal love to all the world." Of course, Lazarus is by no means

²³ "Lazarus Laughed: Original MS Notes."

²⁴ Asvaghosha Bodhisattva, p. 404.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 408.

a perfect Buddha, for O'Neill cannot have him reject unconditionally the procreative urges of mankind. After all, he is Dionysus, and a Nietzschean prophet, in addition to being the Buddha. The Buddha, fully recognizing the power of the forces that bind man to the perpetual cycle of birth, suffering, and death, would never have acceded to Pompeia's request that he put his arms around her and kiss her on the lips. In his capacity as "the positive masculine Dionysus," Lazarus, however, cannot well refuse such a request, and the best that O'Neill can do is to make his kiss so dispassionately universal that it repels Pompeia, a not entirely satisfactory resolution of the problem. On the whole, however, Lazarus' disinterested love is much like that of Gotama the Buddha.

Another aspect of Lazarus' loving kindness that seems particularly to stem from his Buddha character is his sympathy for animal as well as human life. Of course, as the Nietzschean Dionysus, Lazarus is naturally at one with all forms of life. "The chariot of Dionysus is bedecked with flowers and garlands; panthers and tigers pass beneath his yoke."²⁶ But Lazarus' sympathy with animals appears more Buddhist than Dionysian. O'Neill has given an explicit account of the Buddhist doctrine of inoffensiveness through the mouth of his Buddhist merchant in *Marco Millions*. "The Buddha taught that one's loving-kindness should embrace all forms of life, that one's compassion should suffer with the suffering, that one's sympathy should understand all things, and last that one's judgment should regard all persons and things as of equal importance" (I, 4, p. 372). Such a philosophy appears to inspire Lazarus' sympathy for the lion Tiberius has crucified as a warning to him.

LAZARUS. (*walks up the steps to the cross and, stretching to his full height, gently pushes the lion's hair out of its eyes—tenderly*) Poor brother! Caesar avenges himself on you because of me. Forgive me your suffering!

CALIGULA. (*with a start backward—with frightened awe*) Gods! He licks your hand! I could swear he smiles—with his last breath! (III, 1, p. 329)

This whole episode is reminiscent of one of the more dramatic incidents in the life of the Buddha, wherein he tames a maddened elephant.

Tathâgata, his heart composed and quiet, with perfect self-possession, thinking only on the sorrow caused by hate, his loving heart desiring to appease it, followed by guardian angel-nâgas, slowly approached the maddened elephant. . . . The drunken elephant, savage and spiteful, beholding Buddha, came to himself at once, and bending, worshipped at his feet just as a mighty mountain falls to earth. With lotus hand the master pats his head, even as the moon lights up a flying cloud.²⁷

Thus, intrinsic to the character of O'Neill's redeemer in *Lazarus Laughed* are many of the characteristics of Gotama the Buddha, for Lazarus is a composite of saviours. He is an embodiment of the

²⁶ Nietzsche, *Birth of Tragedy*, pp. 955-56.

²⁷ Asvaghosha *Bodhisattva*, p. 416.

Christian belief that "whosoever liveth and believeth in Me shall never die." He is Dionysus, symbol "of living and dying as processes in eternal growth." He is the prophet Zarathustra, who cries: "The consummating death I show unto you, which becometh a stimulus and promise to the living."²⁸ Finally, he is Gotama the Buddha, who preaches: "He who knows that this body is like froth, and has learnt that it is as unsubstantial as a mirage, will break the flower-pointed arrow of Māra, and never see the king of death."²⁹

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²⁸ Nietzsche, *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, p. 75.

²⁹ *The Dhammapada*, in *Sacred Books of the East*, p. 119.

REVIEWS

Unity in Shakespearean Tragedy: The Interplay of Theme and Character. By BRENTS STIRLING. New York: Columbia University Press, 1956. Pp. viii + 212. \$3.75.

Although little in Shakespearean criticism can be wholly new, this informed and perceptive study is original, and, what is equally rare, it is very literate. Professor Stirling knows how to write. The book is not about the oneness of Shakespearean tragedy; it deals with the interplay of theme and character in seven tragedies and its contribution to the unity, the total effect, of the plays discussed. Theme, for want of a better word, is used to indicate a wide range of things—Hamlet's "antic disposition," the speed with which *Romeo and Juliet* moves, the inversion of nature in *Macbeth*. The book proceeds, as it were, inductively, and like all such studies, seems, in the beginning, to be a little particular; but it increases in complexity, and in the end there are "some conclusions" about the nature of tragedy.

It pleases Professor Stirling to enjoy "being a little old-fashioned in a concern for Shakespeare's characters," but he illuminates the characterizations in a way far from old-fashioned. His view of characterization is not at all what Shaw called the "penny in the slot" method—you drop in a motive and out comes an action. He finds, for instance, that in *Richard II* plot and characterization unfold integrally. The main facts of the plot, Richard's fall and Bolingbroke's rise, were given Shakespeare. He makes them into tragedy of stature through his characterizations of the men—Richard's love of self-dramatization, which allows him to give away the throne, and Bolingbroke's opportunism, which does not allow him to know what he is or what he wants until events speak for themselves and for him. I write this at the time of the political conventions. Professor Stirling does not claim as much for Shakespeare's observation as he could; he does not say that Bolingbroke is an eternal political type.

He gives us an Othello whose fall in Act III, Scene 3, was motivated not only by what Othello was but by what the play has been. The very relevant concept of reputation has been conveyed to us not only by Othello but by the other characters. He gives us a Brutus who, having accepted republicanism as an honorable end, sets out to dignify assassination, the means to the honorable end, by lifting it to the level of rite and ceremony, and he demonstrates how this "ceremonial motive extends beyond the personality of Brutus into the structure of the play." It is this treatment of *Julius Caesar* which allows him to discuss the ceremonial nature of *Othello* with such admirable brevity. He has taken the time to write a short book.

The chapters on *Hamlet* offer a protagonist whose "conflict is one in which a sense of underemotion leads to overemotion, and in which guilt accompanies either state of feeling" and whose "decision to feign the antic arises within an antic state." The theme of "raptness" in *Macbeth* ("Look how our partner's rapt") is found to color the entire play, making the individual character symbolic and, through the symbolism, giving full meaning to the psychological content of the play. Throughout the book there is a complexity of perception which does not, as is unhappily often the case, exceed the complexity of the plays discussed; and this multiplicity of perception is nowhere better displayed than in the chapter on the blending of the satiric and tragic in *Antony and Cleopatra*, which enables

Shakespeare to write important tragedy with a deliberately diminished hero.

Professor Stirling has written modestly. Nothing could be less polemical. He has assumed that "thinking people are happier if given material for thought and allowed to think." Every reader will have, of course, his reservations, but for me to state any of mine in a review which is necessarily short would be to overstate them.

EDWARD HUBLER

Princeton University

The Scientific Lady in England, 1650-1760. By GERALD DENNIS MEYER. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Publications, English Studies, No. 12, 1955. Pp. xi + 126. \$2.25.

Gerald Meyer is concerned with the rise of science as a study to which the English lady of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries might address herself. He traces the development of the study of science among English women, beginning with the "fantastic" Duchess of Newcastle, authoress of thirteen books having to do with science (often in the guise of poems or prose romances), and ending with Margaret Bryan, authoress of the *Compendious System of Astronomy*. He explores the influence in England of Fontenelle's *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes*, "an unforgettable account of an enlightened French Lady being initiated into the secrets of astronomy," upon later English books designed to interest ladies in science. He discusses various periodicals which catered to the growing interest in science among women, and he introduces us to some of the outstanding writers and editors among the "Scientific Ladies." He concludes with some remarks about contemporary satires upon the new kind of woman arising out of this interest in science.

Gerald Meyer's aim is to acquaint us with the books which the scientific lady is likely to have read and to give us some idea of the content and form of the more significant ones. Fulfillment of this aim, though it might have been achieved in more detail, leads the reader inevitably to some interesting questions about the whole movement. What caused the ladies to turn to scientific reading when they did? Apparently the popularization of science and the interest of the ladies in scientific study was one reflection of the attempt to bring religion and the "New Philosophy" into some kind of agreement. The telescope and microscope, as Meyer writes, had broadened the universe: "There was the attendant conviction that the wisdom of God could best be appreciated through an understanding of His works in the firmament and on earth." Certainly, from this point of view, it was only a matter of time until the most gracious ladies would address themselves to a better understanding of God through His glorious works. At the same time, it is likely that the popularization of science for ladies led to their further intellectual emancipation and self-assertion. Certainly *The Scientific Lady* offers an opportunity for further study; it provides a selected bibliography and a sketch of the development of a body of evidence.

In spite of the relative obscurity of the people about whom he writes and the incredible dullness of many of the books with which he is concerned, Meyer manages to keep the reader's interest. His book contains amusing quotations and sprightly comments, though his own style is somewhat genteel.

HAZARD ADAMS

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Dr. Johnson's Dictionary: Essays in the Biography of a Book. By JAMES H. SLEDD and GWIN J. KOLB. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. Pp. viii + 256. \$5.00.

Although issued as a memorial to Johnson's *Dictionary* in the bicentenary year of its publication, the five essays which make up this book were written at intervals during three years, and they deal with special topics. The first and last are concerned with the relationship between the *Dictionary* and the lexicographical tradition before and after its appearance. The three others are entitled "The Composition and Publication of *The Plan of a Dictionary*," "Lord Chesterfield and Johnson," and "The Early Editions of the *Dictionary*." There is a useful chronological table, the notes are full and clear in statement, and the index is remarkably good to be so brief. The only typographical error I have noticed is an inconsistency (in the text and the index) in the spelling of "Priestley."

The authors have avoided the commonest fault of commemorative volumes; they have nowhere claimed too much for their subject, and they have confined their efforts to painstaking analysis of evidence rather than to indiscriminating eulogy. If anything, their fault lies on the opposite side of the scale. The reader may find himself remarking that no one would think of commemorating an anniversary for one of the dictionaries of Bailey, although his work is mentioned here with high praise. Is Johnson's *Dictionary* celebrated primarily as an epochal achievement in lexicography or as a milestone in the career of a great man? A decision is made more difficult by the extensive quotations from adverse critics, so that the reader may recall what Tooke or Webster said of the *Dictionary* in contempt after he has forgotten its transcendent virtues.

The parts of this book are greater than the whole; its outstanding merits lie in its separate articles. The authors have ranged far in their investigation, and their offerings are significant and interesting. It is not their fault that they were unable to consult the Sneyd sheets of the first edition, and so were obliged to depend on the evidence given in Sotheby's sale catalogue.

The statement (p. 2) that the Johnsonian has busied himself with reading Boswell runs counter to D. Nichol Smith's dictum that it is the Boswellians who depend on Boswell and the true Johnsonians who read Johnson. The interpretation of the famous letter to Chesterfield (that Johnson was angered only by the implication that Chesterfield had patronized him, and that Chesterfield sought only to give satisfaction to Johnson when he allowed the letter to become the talk of the town) is ingenious, but less convincing than that offered in 1953 by Benjamin Boyce. During his lifetime Johnson had many quarrels. An Osborne he could beat with a folio; a Macpherson he could silence by promising to defend himself. But the most polite man in England had hinted (quite gratuitously) that he lacked courtesy. By the laws of the duel, Johnson was entitled to choose place and weapon (as the legendary seven-foot Scottish blacksmith agreed to fight with sledge hammers in water six feet deep). Johnson chose to write the most courteous of letters in reply to a charge of discourtesy, leaving Chesterfield to assume the air of disregard which he recommended to his son in a similar difficulty. "Either extreme politeness or knocking down," Chesterfield advised; with such an adversary as Sam Johnson, the noble lord was content to show extreme politeness.

JOHN ROBERT MOORE

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Ruskin's Scottish Heritage: A Prelude. By HELEN GILL VILJOEN. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956. Pp. 284. \$3.75.

Professor Viljoen's book is more than a new view of John Ruskin's parents and the cultural heritage which they bequeathed to their son. It begins a new era in Ruskin scholarship. With a perception that follows only years of study of Ruskin manuscripts and unpublished letters, Mrs. Viljoen shows the error made by the many students who have based their work on Ruskin's autobiography, *Praeterita*, and the thirty-nine volumes of Ruskin's work edited (1903-12) by E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn. With the exception of Ruskin's first (and according to Mrs. Viljoen, still his best) biographer, W. G. Collingwood, biographers of Ruskin have regarded *Praeterita* generally as an objective recital of his life and ideas. The autobiography instead is "shot with fancy and with symbolism," so Mrs. Viljoen clearly demonstrates; it is "an expression of mood and memories and fantasies during Ruskin's old age." Equally convincing is her analysis of the editorial work of Cook and Wedderburn. She tells the story of this project for the first time, revealing Cook's lack of qualification for the task and the haste with which the two men did their work. Besides seeing that nothing was included in the edition which might reflect adversely on Ruskin or his family, "they documented, in effect, by their thirty-nine volumes, the absolute reliability of Ruskin's portrayal, in *Praeterita* and elsewhere, of his father and mother and of his early years, and consequently of the whole course of his experiences and development as a personality." As a result, she believes that in English literature "only Pope has suffered as has Ruskin because of his own desire to shape men's understanding of his life and because of early editorial treatment of his manuscripts. . . ."

Telling her story contemporaneously from the successive Ruskin manuscripts and nineteenth-century memoirs published since 1910 (the last date in the Cook and Wedderburn bibliography), Mrs. Viljoen thus sets aside the traditional approach to Ruskin. To know Ruskin the student must know his unpublished papers. Through Mrs. Viljoen's research, we catch significant glimpses of the large collection of Ruskin papers owned by F. J. Sharp; the Bowerswell Papers (largely Ruskin's correspondence with his wife) at the Pierpont Morgan Library; and the letters to his father and others at the Yale University Library. Designed as a prelude to her full-scale biography, *Ruskin's Scottish Heritage* shows the need for a scholarly editing of Ruskin's unpublished papers and a fresh criticism of his work.

From Mrs. Viljoen's return to the contemporary records come two well-drawn portraits of Ruskin's parents, "two rather ordinary geese who nonetheless, within the course of nature, would produce a swan." Her treatment of Ruskin's mother is sympathetic, and the origins of her Evangelicism are traced factually. Mrs. Viljoen's study of the youth and education of Ruskin's father discloses the passions which dominated this "highly egocentric individual, with an adamant will." Her numerous corrections and additions to the Ruskin family tree that Cook and Wedderburn included in their edition are amazing. The Ruskin forebears, we know now, were English rather than Scottish, as Ruskin had believed. If the succeeding volumes of Mrs. Viljoen's biography fulfill the promise of *Ruskin's Scottish Heritage*, together they should supersede all previous biographies of Ruskin.

In the next volume, Mrs. Viljoen doubtless can reduce her footnotes, inasmuch as the full notes in this prelude have established the premises of her work. Proper acknowledgments in the introduction, moreover, can eliminate those in the notes which become repetitious in this first volume. Time may cut the tartness of

such references to Cook and Wedderburn's errors as those on pages 235 and 253. Mrs. Viljoen is working for consistency in the punctuation of unpublished letters; apparent inconsistencies here are to be attributed to her reliance in some places on transcripts by other people. Inclusion of the full text of key letters in an appendix, like those in the Catherine Tweedale Ruskin correspondence, would help the reader.

Indispensable for students of Ruskin and the period, *Ruskin's Scottish Heritage* may well serve as the foundation for future Ruskin studies.

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The Victorian Poets: A Guide to Research. Edited by FREDERIC E. FAVERTY.
Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956. Pp. 292. \$5.00.

Graduate students, particularly, will welcome this sequel to *The Romantic Poets: A Review of Research*, which also originated in the counsel of the Modern Language Association of America. The present volume consists of nine essays, each one the work of an individual contributor. In an introductory chapter, Jerome H. Buckley has provided a survey of general materials for the study of the Victorian poets. Paull F. Baum, William C. DeVane, Frederic E. Faverty, Clyde K. Hyder, and John Pick have contributed separate chapters on Tennyson, Browning, Arnold, Swinburne, and Hopkins. And to provide coverage of the lesser figures, A. McKinley Terhune has written a chapter on Mrs. Browning, FitzGerald, and Clough; Howard Mumford Jones a chapter on the Pre-Raphaelites; and Lionel Stevenson a chapter on fifteen later Victorian poets, from Coventry Patmore to Ernest Dowson. Without conforming to any rigid structural plan, the authors have generally assembled their material under such conventional rubrics as "bibliographies," "editions," "biographies," and "critical studies." The general aim has been to avoid, in the words of Faverty's preface, "the impressionistic essay on the one hand and mere annotated bibliography on the other."

The presentation of bibliographical material in discursive form has two rather serious disadvantages. It sacrifices brevity, and it sacrifices ease of reference. But it compensates for these deficiencies by making possible more finely shaded judgments and by supplying a coherence, whether logical or narrative, that is impossible in a simple itemized list. William C. DeVane's easy, informal survey of Browning scholarship achieves a degree of coherence in the section on biography, at least, by relating most of the findings of the last generation to the method of psychological analysis and especially to the affair, first hinted at in 1927 by DeVane himself, between Browning and Lady Ashburton. But it is questionable whether this chapter offers any material advantage over the bibliography appended to the second edition of DeVane's own *Browning Handbook*, which in eight pages includes, without significant differences in evaluation, practically everything discussed here in twenty-six pages, with a good deal more besides. Howard Mumford Jones's learned but rambling chapter on the Pre-Raphaelites is more accurately described as an essay in literary history than as a discursive bibliography. His thesis is that the Pre-Raphaelite movement has resisted all attempts at accurate definition, but unfortunately his casual commentary does not produce order out of chaos; it merely reaffirms that the chaos exists. In many ways the most interesting chapter in the book is John Pick's

account of the burgeoning of Hopkins studies during the last twenty-five years. Here, at least, is an effective union of bibliography and literary history.

Frederic Faverty and his co-authors have produced a thorough and authoritative guide, but in charting the main routes through the wilderness of Victorian scholarship they have, perhaps inevitably, ignored or slighted many intriguing byways. Their concern with the definitive bibliography or edition, the "standard" life, and the orthodox critical evaluation, while enhancing the value of the work as a reference, has lessened its interest as a survey of the range and variety of Victorian studies. In this respect the book is far less provocative and stimulating than another MLA symposium of a few years ago—*The Reinterpretation of Victorian Literature*, edited by Joseph E. Baker. Yet the present work is clearly destined to become an indispensable guide for the serious student of Victorian poetry.

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ROBERT A. DONOVAN

Lehnbildungen und Lehnbedeutungen im Altenglischen. By HELMUT GNEUSS.
Berlin-Bielefeld-München: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1955. Pp. viii + 184.
DM 18, 60.

In this extremely detailed monograph an effort has been made to apply to Old English vocabulary the classificatory procedures outlined by Werner Betz in his *Deutsch und Lateinisch* (Bonn, 1949). Gneuss divides his work roughly as follows: I. History and appraisal of previous work pertaining to the subject; II. Systematic illustration of Old English forms according to the Betz terminology; III. Intensive examination of (Latin) loans in the *Vespasian Psalter*. The chief concern of the work is with "cultural borrowing" (Bloomfield) in what Haugen (*Language*, XXVI [1950], No. 2) calls "loanblends" and "loan-shifts." The method of identifying these so-called "indirect" loans is that of comparing translations and glosses in order to determine whether (1) a specific form is created or (2) a special application of meaning is involved in the use of the Old English word.

The Old English evidence—as far as it goes—has here been organized thoroughly and convincingly. From the vocabulary indexes (pp. 171-76) it is clear that formal loan creations outnumber semantic ones about four to one. It would be interesting to know, in the case of semantic loans, whether the frequency of specific connotations in original Old English material would justify the possibility that these loans were more than mere translation-jargon, or whether the existence of native synonyms, deviations in cultural patterns, etc., would have exerted special restrictions upon such connotations. As a basis for obtaining such information and placing the analysis of linguistic borrowing in its proper perspective, a system of structural semantics would seem to be in order. While appropriate techniques have been outlined by such scholars as Jost Trier, their actual application, unfortunately, has been generally ignored. Perhaps the classification and cataloguing so admirably accomplished by Gneuss will provide the necessary basis for such analysis.

We are indebted to Gneuss for an extensive bibliography (pp. 163-70) which, it must be pointed out, does not include some of the material contained in footnotes to the text itself nor the oversight on page 12, where S. Singer, rather than Fr. Seiler, is made the author of the well-known work, *Die Entwicklung der deutschen Kultur im Spiegel des deutschen Lehnwortes*.

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CARROLL E. REED

Meditationes philosophicae de nonnullis ad poema pertinentibus. By ALEXANDER GOTTLIEB BAUMGARTEN. Translated, with the Original Text, an Introduction, and Notes, by KARL ASCHENBRENNER and WILLIAM B. HOLTHERR. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1954. Pp. viii + 90 + 40. \$3.50.

All interested in poetics will hail, if only for historical reasons, the availability in English with excellent apparatus of this 1735 attempt by the inventor of the term "aesthetics" to bring poetry into an orderly system under the "science" of rationalism. The strenuous exercise in logic is rewarding for its method alone—to show us how far the logic of that day could approach poetry. The reverence for Gottsched (p. 76), the *ut pictura poesis* problem (p. 52), poetry as an imitation of nature (pp. 55, 75 f.), the use of history recent and remote (p. 59), the view that science can solve all problems (pp. 75 f.)—all these have relevance to the march of German literary history in the eighteenth century, and indeed to larger problems of our own day. The Introduction points up some of these and, in addition, breaks a lance for rationalism as one in a chain of varying approaches to art.

CURTIS C. D. VAIL

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G.-C. Lichtenberg, précurseur du romantisme: L'Homme et l'œuvre. Par ALBERT SCHNEIDER. Nancy: Société d'Impressions Typographiques, Publications de l'Université de la Sarre, 1954. Pp. 327. 1.000 frs.

Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, Penseur. Par ALBERT SCHNEIDER. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres" [1954]. Pp. 177. 900 frs.

This French two-volume work (finished as a thesis in 1947) is a monumental accomplishment destined to play a lasting role in Lichtenberg scholarship. In this reviewer's opinion it is the final Lichtenberg monograph and handbook which, in such exhaustive completeness, has been missing hitherto. It is precisely because of the important position assigned to the study that the reviewer feels no hesitation but, on the contrary, a duty to point out, together with its merits, a number of minor defects no book of similar scope can hope to evade entirely.

It could be argued with some justification that Schneider's *Lichtenberg* does not really offer anything new in material or perspective. Save for minor details, Victor Bouillier (another French Lichtenberg biographer), Wilhelm Grenzmann (the author of the other monograph aiming at completeness), and Otto Deneke (writer of an unfinished biography) have set down in their books the substance of which Schneider's work is made. And yet Schneider surpasses his predecessors in more than mere all-inclusiveness which alone would be important enough. He transcends the work of those forerunners by avoiding their most disturbing shortcomings. Bouillier's book, pleasant and charming, is perhaps too brief for its radius and thus somewhat superficial, while Schneider's is thorough to the point of pedantry. Schneider is also more objective and less chatty than Deneke, his accents are distributed with more equity, and, above all, his biographical account does not stop in the middle. His book is thus the most detailed and well-reasoned Lichtenberg biography now existing. Schneider's most serious rival is Wilhelm Grenzmann. But while it must be recognized that Schneider builds upon Grenzmann's book, the French work is nevertheless far superior to the German because of the absence of the strong philo-

sophical and political bias which spoils that otherwise meritorious study. Grenzmann is consumed by a hatred of Enlightenment, which is a dangerous attitude to assume in dealing with one of the foremost German rationalists. The result is a frequently painful distortion culminating in the absurd attempt to turn Lichtenberg into a Nazi. Needless to say, there is no trace of this unpleasant side in Schneider, whose book stands out precisely because of its sense of justice.

The feeling of needing some original point of view may have prompted Schneider to adopt the phrase "precursor of romanticism" as the subtitle of his first volume, *G.-C. Lichtenberg: L'Homme et l'œuvre*. If such was his intent, it must be indicated that he did not completely succeed in it. To the detriment of originality the author more or less echoes, at least in essence, the views of Albert Béguin (*L'Âme romantique et le rêve*) who upholds the same thesis with more inspiration. And yet the expectations Schneider arouses by assigning his claim to such a prominent place are not nearly fulfilled. The space devoted to a discussion of Lichtenberg's alleged romanticism, three out of three hundred odd pages, discounting a few scattered remarks, does not warrant the mention in the title; and even where the writer's attention is focused upon his thesis, the reader misses that force of conviction he has been led to expect. He deplores, for example, the absence of an explicit or even implied definition of what is considered to be romantic. It is not sufficient to single out romantic and pseudo-romantic traits in the personality and writings of an author, but the question is really the total effect of his spiritual position. Lichtenberg was well aware of his mystical, superstitious, and religious leanings—in short, of his irrationalism—but he never ceased to regard reason as the only reliable ordering principle in man presiding over and controlling all other psychic impulses. Schneider admits the ambiguity of his attempts at classification when, in connection with Lichtenberg's astonishing insights into the mechanism of dreams, he concedes that Lichtenberg thereby becomes not only a forerunner of the romantics but even of psychoanalysis—an essentially rationalistic doctrine (p. 108). Schneider thus reveals the true nature of his theory: it is an auxiliary construction to account for the element of *Unzeitgemäßheit* in Lichtenberg, characteristic of greatness in general (hence also the connection the author establishes between Lichtenberg and modern existentialism, p. 301). It is also conceivable that Schneider has unconsciously yielded to a tendency, observable in broad circles of German criticism, to discredit the Enlightenment as a suspect and "shallow" movement. This is usually done either by reducing the stature of the rationalists under discussion or by trying to minimize their participation in the movement and discovering traits separating them from the general drift of rationalism. In the case of a man like Lichtenberg such attempts would seem particularly preposterous, for they give the lie to the entire work of his life which was fervently devoted to the spreading and popularizing of Enlightenment ideas. From this standpoint the subordinate role played by Lichtenberg, *précurseur du romantisme*, is a virtue rather than a vice, and it is to the credit of Mr. Schneider's common sense and feeling of justice, if perhaps not of his consistency, that he calls Lichtenberg a "rationaliste et voltairien" (p. 293) and assures his readers that in many respects "Lichtenberg est un classique" (II, 294). (Also cf. the following statement on p. 174: "Cet amour [wertherien] sous-entendait toute une conception de la vie qui répugnait profondément à notre rationaliste parcequ'elle mettait le cœur au-dessus de la raison.")

The thoroughness and comprehensiveness of this book is admirable in times when the stigma of "positivism" is attached to any display of factual knowledge

no matter how pertinent. Schneider's *Lichtenberg* is an old-fashioned work in the best sense of the word. In view of his ideal of solid scholarship, certain excesses one could perhaps label as "zuviel des Guten" may be pardoned but should not go unmentioned. Among the numerous virtues of his book one must count the impressive Lichtenberg bibliography appended to the first volume, containing brief critical remarks sparingly used but always correct and to the point; and yet it will be felt by many readers that the references to Lichtenberg articles in *Der neue Herder*, *Kosch*, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, etc., are superfluous. To many it will appear as a sign of pedantry when, in his analysis of the use of foreign words by Lichtenberg, Schneider includes such proper names as London, Covent Garden, Westminster, London *Chronicle*, *Evening Post*, Hyde Park, Piccadilly, and scores of others without which a discussion of London as a city would be virtually impossible.

The second volume, entitled *Lichtenberg, Penseur*, is a natural sequel to the first. In it the author analyzes Lichtenberg's thinking habits, his relation to science, literature, philosophy, his ideas about psychology, education, politics, religion, etc. Suffice it to say that this section of Schneider's work displays the same well-reasoned and comprehensive thoroughness as the first two.

In conclusion, I should like to state that the three parts of this two-volume book on the life, the works, and the thinking of Georg Christoph Lichtenberg constitute a most valuable contribution to the study of the great aphoristician and will doubtless become a manual indispensable to the growing number of Lichtenberg scholars.

EGON SCHWARZ

Harvard University

The Romantic Realist: Caroline de la Motte Fouqué. By JEAN T. WILDE. New York: Bookman Associates, 1955. Pp. 474. \$6.00.

In her effort to produce a critical biography of Caroline de la Motte Fouqué, Jean T. Wilde has spared herself no effort or industry. The lengthy work attempts to present all facets of the personal and social life of Caroline, a thorough examination of her twenty novels, sixty-odd stories and novelettes, and twenty-one nonfictional writings comprising books, articles, and sketches on religion, mythology, history, customs and manners, patriotism, fashions, literature, and other subjects.

Part I of Dr. Wilde's book is devoted to Caroline's life, and Part II is concerned with her literary output. There is no doubt that the author's chief interest in her subject lies in the personal and social life. Full and, on the whole, good use is made of the letters at her disposal, many of which have not been published. There are times, to be sure, when considerably more space than necessary is devoted to Caroline's acquaintances, especially in view of the fact that so frequently we have no interpretation either on Caroline's part or on Dr. Wilde's part of the significant impression those acquaintances made upon Caroline.

One cannot fail to be struck by the keen sense Caroline had for the importance of her contemporaries—both social and literary. There are not many prominent figures in these German circles of the early part of the nineteenth century with whom she had no contact. However, her efforts toward closer acquaintance were not crowned with success, or at least with lasting success. One has the feeling that all her activity did not lead to more than passing, superficial acquaintanceships. Dr. Wilde expresses this particularly well: "Personally and

professionally Kleist and the Fouqués were on a *mutually cordial footing* [my italics]. Fouqué repeatedly invited Kleist to Nennhausen, but it is not clear whether he ever paid the visit" (p. 140).

Part II is devoted to Caroline's works, which obviously enjoyed a fair popularity at the time. She seems to have had a keen sense for the changing literary tastes of the German public—a much keener sense than her husband had. Indeed, the waning popularity of Fouqué, with its attendant financial embarrassment, had a good deal to do with Caroline's prolific, and sometimes over-hasty, production. Furthermore, in the period after the Napoleonic Wars there was considerably less social activity and less intercourse with literary figures than before, so that in the greater isolation of her life she had much time for writing fiction and for the background reading necessary for her nonfiction works. Certainly, Caroline was an individual of wide and varied interests, one who was by nature given to expressing herself and her ideas freely.

The reader of Dr. Wilde's book is somewhat surprised to find the detailed plot summaries of the twenty novels and of many of the stories and novelettes. One would much prefer to see a penetrating literary analysis of the works or a portrayal of some outstanding manifestations of literary talent. The only criticism one gets is in the quotations of contemporary reviewers. These are hardly sufficient to persuade the reader of this study that Caroline was a writer of importance.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Wilde will continue her concern with Caroline. Interesting would be the publication in full, and in the original German, of the letters to her various acquaintances.

ROBERT T. ITTNER

University of Akron

Heinrich Heine: Two Studies of His Thought and Feeling. By WILLIAM ROSE. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1956. Pp. vii + 163. \$2.90.

Taking as his motto Heine's remark in *Die romantische Schule*, "die zwei wichtigsten Verhältnisse des Menschen, das politische und das religiöse..." Professor Rose has written two extremely readable essays: "Heine's Political and Social Attitude" and "Heine's Jewish Feeling."

Unfortunately, in spite of the author's admirable mastery of the material and his sincerity toward the subject, the studies will leave the reader with a somewhat confused impression of Heine. The fault is not so much Heine's, who, to be sure, is one of the most contradictory and versatile of German writers, but is primarily one of treatment: the historical-chronological method is highly unsuited for a temperament like Heine's. Although the author attacks German literary criticism for tending "to concern itself with ideas rather than with aesthetic values," which he finds especially true in the case of Heine scholarship (p. iii), the volume does not live up to the implied promise. Certainly, the first essay faithfully traces Heine's political and social "attitudes," and the second carefully delineates the almost demonic attraction that Judaism and everything connected with it had for Heine. Yet the underlying problem, that of "why" rather than "how," is hardly touched.

Barker Fairley, who brought out his *Heinrich Heine: An Interpretation* two years ago with the same publishers, summed up his penetrating analysis of the poet's images by stating, "there is everything on the face of his writings to suggest that he was not only capricious by nature, but that he made a virtue

of it and cultivated it" (p. 160). Mr. Rose apparently agrees with that view, although he expresses it differently. He insists throughout that Heine, the thinker, cannot be disassociated from Heine, the poet. Therefore, whenever the "rational" Heine is unclear or changes his views, the "irrational" Heine must bear the blame. This explanation is not entirely exhaustive. Heine's rational-irrational world is basically a psychological problem, and little has been done so far to chart it.

Heine's uniqueness in the annals of German literature is self-evident. Forced early into a Byronic (or rather B-ironic) pose, posing becomes his second nature. He plays the tribune, he plays the exile, he plays all roles to perfection. The world is his stage, poetry is one of the props. Even sincerity, emotions, and, most important, the confessional nature of lyric verse are experienced as "unreal" and projected with an ulterior motive in view. Heine struts about this stage, ever mindful of being observed, hampered by his inability of "being"—not "playing"—his own true self. In his hands, love, which he needs more than most other individuals, turns into satire, hate into brutality, anxiety into terror. Heine to Heine is the most pitiable of human beings; only pride in, and the ever-present need of, his pose can make him carry on. The "Matratzengruft" is a terrible, almost "alttestamentarisch anmutender" price which he imposes upon himself in atonement. He is too clear-sighted to seek refuge in "isms"; he is ever lonely, ever looking back to the past—his own past, his childhood, his memories—the golden era before the pose began.

ROBERT L. KAHN

University of Washington

The Early Cuadro de Costumbres in Colombia. By FRANK M. DUFFEY. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, No. 26, 1956. Pp. xiii + 116. \$2.50.

In this valuable study the author presents an account of the *costumbrista* movement in Colombia, as found in *artículos* and *cuadros de costumbres* rather than in *novelas*. After establishing a clean-cut definition of the *cuadro*, he traces its origin to Spanish and French sources and follows its evolution from 1838 to 1871, the period in which it flourished in Colombia. First, he comments on the "Pre-Mosaico" writers: Ignacio Gutiérrez Vergara, José Caicedo Rojas, José Manuel Groot, Juan Francisco Ortiz, Rafael Eliseo Santander, Juan de Dios Restrepo ("Emiro Kastos"), and Medardo Rivas. Then he considers the "Mosaico-Writers": José María Vergara y Vergara, José Manuel Marroquín, José David Guarín, Ricardo Silva, Eugenio Díaz, Ricardo Carrasquilla, Manuel Pombo, José Joaquín Borda, and José María Samper—all members of the *tertulia literaria* that published *El Mosaico* (1858-71), a periodical which gave such a great impetus to the *costumbrista* movement not only in Colombia, but in other Spanish-American countries.

Except for some critical evaluations of these writers and their best *artículos* and *cuadros*, there is little in this volume that is new to those who are acquainted with *costumbrismo* in Colombia, and yet Duffey makes in it a notable contribution to its study. His book is objective, systematic, clear, and well documented. As such, it should prove very useful to scholars who wish to become aware of the Colombian *costumbristas*, some of whom can be compared with the best in Spain, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela. Duffey does not enter the field of comparative literature to establish the position of the Colombian *costumbristas* in relation to those of other countries; he is not highly impressed by their writings,

but he reaches a fair and interesting conclusion. He knows that this minor genre did not anywhere make a "transcendental contribution to world literature or thought," but he admits that in Colombia "it accomplished in large measure its purpose" to such an extent that "no greater tribute can be paid the *costumbrista* writers of mid-century Colombia than to testify that there is very little of their works which cannot be read with interest a hundred years after it was written." That is quite a compliment in the mouth of a foreign reader not thoroughly familiar with the materials treated in the hundreds of *cuadros* and *artículos* by the Colombian *costumbristas*. "Even a partial list of their subjects [Duffey writes] is imposing: manners of fashionable society, folk customs and festivals, political practices, economic conditions and business practices, legal and governmental procedures, national psychology, country life and farm methods, religious customs, servant types and problems, burial and mourning practices, marriages, education, domestic life, vacations and diversions, travel, foreign influences on manners, social functions, sartorial fashions, public morality, houses and lodgings, speech habits, doctors and medicines, journalism, literary tastes, etc., etc."

Indeed, the *costumbristas* present a panorama of Colombian life in practically all of its colorful and picturesque aspects. "Although the Colombian *costumbrista* movement was not an unqualified success in satire, style, general artistry, or humor, it leaves little to be desired in the scope of its subject matter," and consequently it offers to the reader an unequal source of information. The *costumbristas* were keen observers of Colombian realities. It is hoped that Mr. Duffey will continue his studies, in order to cover the "Post-Mosaico" writers and the *novela de costumbres* which, in Colombia, reaches its climax with Tomás Carrasquilla, perhaps the best of all the *costumbristas* in the Castilian language.

University of Washington

CARLOS GARCÍA-PRADA

L'Univers poétique de Baudelaire: Symbolisme et symbolique. By LLOYD JAMES AUSTIN. Paris: Mercure de France, Études sur les poètes symbolistes français, 1956. Pp. 354. 750 fr.

The content of this book is defined by its subtitle. The author, Professor Austin of Cambridge University, reserves the term *symbolique* "à toute poétique fondée sur la croyance que la nature est le symbole d'une réalité divine ou transcendante... et le mot de 'symbolisme' à toute poétique qui, sans poser la question d'une transcendance mystique, cherche dans la nature des symboles qui traduisent l'état d'âme du poète."

This distinction is applied by the author to the doctrine of correspondences, which is the point of departure of his study. The doctrine as Baudelaire first conceived it was formulated in the sonnet *Correspondances*. The first quatrain of the poem treats of transcendental "correspondences" and the remainder, of "correspondences" between the senses or synesthesia. However, Professor Austin justly observes that synesthesia represents only one aspect of Baudelaire's symbolism, but one which led him to a broader conception of "correspondences" based on analogies and equivalents between facts as given by the senses on the one hand and ideas and sentiments on the other.

Professor Austin exaggerates the "satanism" of Baudelaire. He states that the point of departure of Baudelaire's poetry is the principle that the earth and its visible manifestations are a correspondence of Heaven. But in his opinion this is no more than a point of departure. He maintains that the doctrine of correspondences as Baudelaire later conceived it was that "derrière les réalités

terrestres se dresse... une réalité qui n'est pas divine, mais satanique; la terre n'est pas 'un aperçu, une *correspondance* du Ciel,' mais le 'reflet de l'Enfer.'" And he adds that "le satanisme de Baudelaire... est le résultat de sa tentative pour discerner dans les spectacles de la terre les signes d'une puissance transcendante." Professor Austin's defense of this thesis is the least solidly established part of his work. It does not appear to take sufficiently into account the contradictions in the poet's writings nor the fact that the chronology of the *Fleurs du mal* has not been established with complete exactitude.

The chapter entitled "La Sensibilité de Baudelaire" is among the best in the book. The author discusses with great perspicacity the role played in Baudelaire's poetry by each of the five senses in the evocation of sensations and images. His choice of examples is excellent. Of particular interest is his penetrating analysis of the technique used by the poet in his transitions from images involving one sense to those relating to another. Professor Austin rightly insists upon the fact that for Baudelaire the essential role of a poet's imagination consists in perceiving "les rapports intimes et secrets des choses, les correspondances et les analogies."

Professor Austin proves conclusively that Baudelaire's symbolism is a human symbolism, very different from the traditional *symbolique*, and that the poet's originality lies in his conception of poetry as a "magie suggestive." *L'Univers poétique de Baudelaire* is an extremely valuable contribution to Baudelairean studies.

WILLIAM F. AGGELER

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Vie de Rancé, by Chateaubriand. Edited by FERNAND LETESSIER. Paris: Didier, 1955. 2 volumes.

Few people would have predicted around 1660, when he withdrew from its midst, that the brilliant but dissolute Armand Jean Le Bouthillier de Rancé would soon startle the world as an austere monastic reformer and that, as such, he would institute the observances that would one day become the Trappist order. Two centuries later, under the July Monarchy, the Trappists, and indeed the whole of French monasticism, had fallen upon evil days. Prompted by a spiritual adviser who perhaps had the interests of the harassed monasteries at heart, Chateaubriand in the early 1840's undertook to write a life of Rancé, publishing it in the spring of 1844 and then, after a hurried revision, issuing it again later in the summer. When he wrote the *Vie de Rancé*, Chateaubriand was old and in ill health, and his artistic powers were in apparent decline. It is due to these circumstances no doubt that side by side with some of the author's most limpid and poetic prose are to be seen abundant non sequiturs, much repetitive material, and a wealth of irrelevant matter that includes many personal reminiscences. While it dazzles and is at moments worthy of the best of Chateaubriand, the work as a whole is so disconnected, so filled with obscurities of all kinds, that until well into the present century critical opinion has generally viewed it as a lamentable indication that the author's creative abilities had dwindled, perhaps even vanished, with the completion of his *Mémoires*. Since Julien Benda's introduction to a 1920 edition of the work, more interest has been shown in the *Vie de Rancé*, and it has become increasingly clear that a critical edition would be needed to introduce order into the brilliant chaos and make it more accessible to Chateaubriand's habitual votaries.

Fernand Letessier has answered that need with his excellent edition first

announced in the *Revue d'histoire littéraire* in 1938 and now at last published under the auspices of the Textes Français Modernes. Since it is more representative of the author's thought than the considerably chastized version that appeared several months later, Letessier was wise enough to choose as the basis for his edition the earlier of the two editions published by Chateaubriand in 1844. Notes at the bottom of the page conscientiously list all of the variants.

The text printed by Letessier is preceded by an ample treatment of the *Vie de Rancé's* sources, its composition and publication, its editions, its artistic weaknesses and accomplishments, its treatment of history, and the character of certain not closely relevant data which lend the work importance as a codicil to Chateaubriand's own memoirs. Letessier demonstrates that Chateaubriand handled his source material in a rather cavalier fashion, taking what pleased him and discarding the rest without a qualm, pruning, trimming, rearranging it at will, and at all times exercising that freedom of choice which makes the book a highly personal view of the abbé de Rancé, albeit a somewhat dubious piece of historical writing. But, as the editor pointedly observes of Chateaubriand, "avant d'être historien, il était poète." Certainly, in view of such previous works as *Les Quatre Stuarts* and the *Analyse raisonnée de l'histoire de France*, Chateaubriand's efforts in the *Vie de Rancé* to advance a private aesthetic at the occasional expense of historical accuracy should not come as a great surprise. The violence done to Clio in his last book, however, seems to show that in 1844 Chateaubriand had forgotten that two decades before, in a review of Michaud's *Histoire des Croisades*, he had complimented the author upon his success in having resisted the temptation "d'être entraîné par la poésie du sujet, et de se tromper de muse."

Our pleasure in reading the new edition of the *Vie de Rancé* would be heightened perhaps had Letessier given some attention to the pressures brought to bear upon Chateaubriand early in the 1840's by certain partisan interests, pressures which have occasional overtones in the *Vie de Rancé*. His Legitimist friends on the one hand and, on the other, the advocates of the hardpressed clerical and monastic establishments both hoped that Chateaubriand could be induced to write in behalf of their causes. To a limited extent, in the *Vie de Rancé* an attempt appears to have been made to satisfy both groups. Also, it would have been worth pointing out that at least some portion of the material in the *Vie de Rancé* which seems to be and is irrelevant, actually stems from an evident desire on the author's part to duplicate in this work certain plot and characterization features used in such earlier books as *René*, *Les Natchez*, and *Les Martyrs*. In passing over these questions, Letessier has stuck to what is indispensable to comprehending the *Vie de Rancé*, text and background, with the result that this contribution to our understanding of Chateaubriand's least understood and least known work is as compact as it is illuminating.

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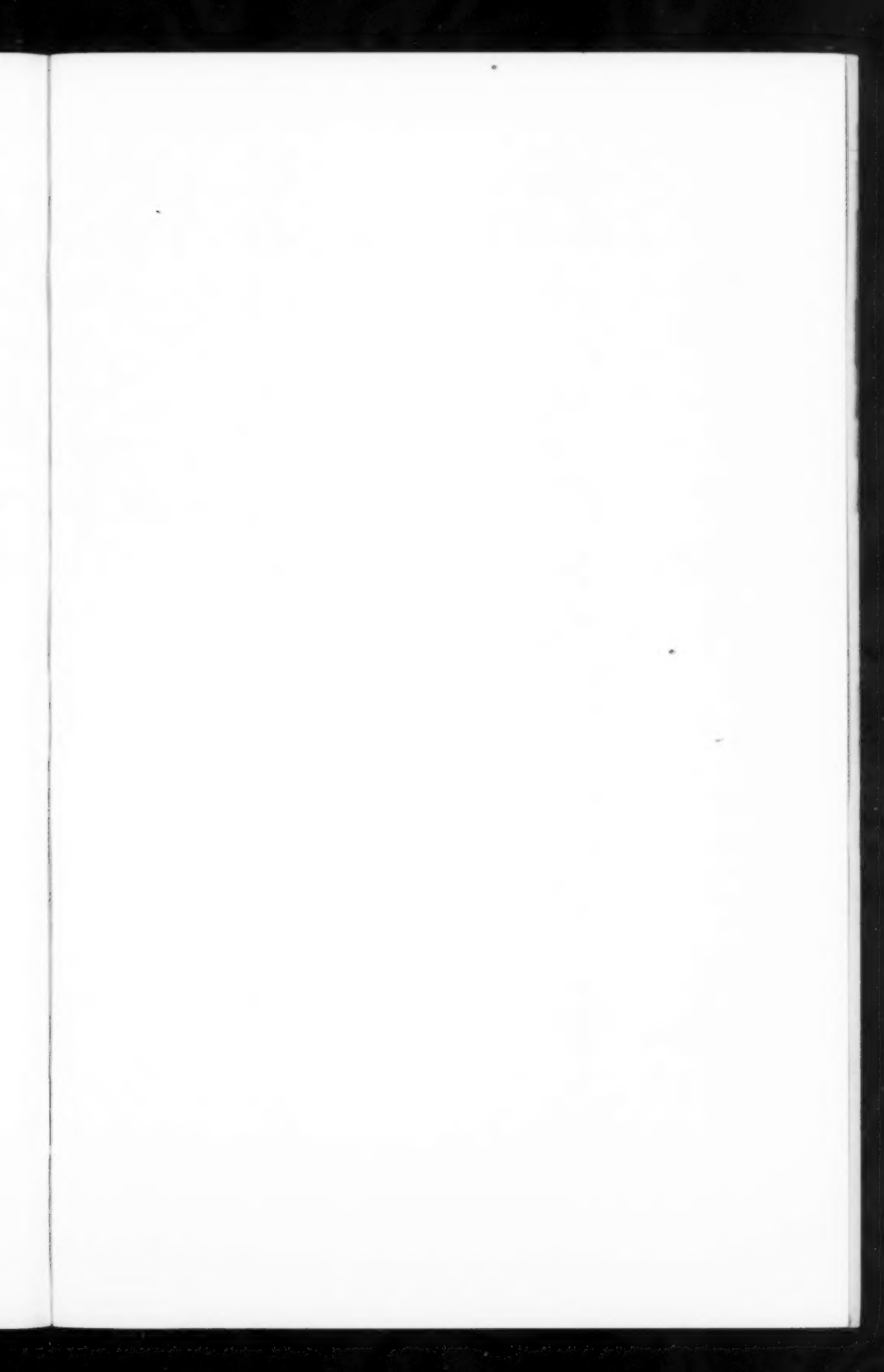
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